S.A. INSTITUTE OF RACE RELATIONS.

24 MAY 1975 — 22 MARCH 1978

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Repudiate job speech PM asked

Natal Mercury 24/5/75

JOHANNESBURG — The South African Institute of Race Relations in a statement issued yesterday urgently requested the Prime Minister to dissociate himself publicly from the remarks reported to have been made in the Senate by Sen. J. H. Steyl on Wednesday.

According to Press reports, says the statement, Senator Steyl, speaking on the Labour Vote, outlined four main principles which, he claimed, determined the National Party's labour policy. They were:

That a White worker should not have his job threatened by a Black worker;

That Whites and Blacks should not be allowed to work shoulder to shoulder;

That Blacks should not have similar status jobwise as Whites;

That Black workers should not be permitted to have trade unions.

"The institute sincerely believes that if the Prime Minister does not repudiate these 'principles,' or at least some of them, his credibility in his highly commendable detente efforts will be greatly jeopardised.

"Failure to repudiate them will also cast doubt on the assurance which the South African Ambassador, Mr. Pik Botha, gave earlier this year at the United Nations, that South Africa was moving away from racial discrimination.

"In addition — and equally as important — there is the harmful effect which Sen. Steyl's statement, if not repudiated, is bound to have on good race relations within South Africa," the statement added. — (Sapa.)

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Queenstown man's R200 000 estate will aid blacks

Daily Dispatch 21/6/75

GRAHAMSTOWN — A Queenstown man, Mr Alfred Ernest Glover, 89, who died in May left an estate of more than R200 000, most of which will eventually go towards black education.

His house at 65 Milner Street, Queenstown, furniture and effects were left in his will to Mrs Edith Glover, his sister-in-law.

She also received a bequest of R4 800 per annum from the revenue of a trust fund which will be set up from the estate.

Mr Glover took particular care of the future needs of all his black servants. All those in his employ at the time of his death will receive their full wages for six months and all his clothing and shoes will be divided among them.

One servant, Rebecca Msabi will get R360 per annum until her death. Grants totalling R386 will be made anonymously each year to certain charities in Queenstown and East London.

Mr Edwin Dearn of Australia will receive R1 200 per year. The three children of his nephew each will receive R1 200 per year from the day they reach the age of 35.

They are Wendy Brent, Patricia Glover and David Glover.

On the death of Mrs Edith Glover and Mr Dearn, some of the capital of the trust can be paid to the education welfare branch of Gadra (Grahamstown Areas Distress Relief Association) and the Institute of Race Relations in Johannesburg as long as enough capital is kept in the trust to generate a revenue which will meet the annual bequests.

On the demise of all the beneficiaries, all the capital of the trust will be divided equally between Gadra education and the SAIRR.

Mr Glover directed that Gadra invest the money and that the income be used for the education of blacks in Queenstown and Grahamstown and espetially to provide indigent blacks with higher education.

The SAIRR must invest the capital and use the income for the education of black children, the buying of school books and for the care of aged blacks.

Mr Glover left an estate which included building society fixed period shares of R98 000, paid up indefinate period shares of R110 800 and R6 175 in his savings account. — DDC.

Institute hits out over banning from Mdantsane

Daily Dispatch 21/7/75

EAST LONDON — The Institute of Race Relations here has accused the Ciskei Minister of the Interior, Mr L. F. Siyo, of obstructionist tactics.

The accusation stems from the refusal by Mr Siyo to grant a permit for two teachers to enter Mdantsane to give extra lessons in English and Afrikaans to matric pupils at Mzomhle High School.

This is in spite of the fact that one of the teachers, Mrs Mary Howe, had paid a weekly visit to the school during 1974.

The regional secretary of the institute, Mr F. O. Joseph, said he had applied to the Manager of Mdantsane, Mr A. Balk, for a permit for the teachers for this year.

Mr Balk told him he would have to refer the matter to the Department of the Interior as he could not issue the permit.

In March he had told Mr Joseph the permit had been refused.

Mr Joseph then wrote to the Secretary of the Ciskei Department of the Interior who replied that he was not obliged or prepared to give reasons for the refusal.

In May a deputation from the Institute, consisting of the national director, Mr F. J. van Wyk, and myself as the regional secretary waited on Mr Siyo, Minister of the Interior," Mr Joseph said. "After a frank discussion, he undertook to review the matter in consultation with the Ciskei Minister of Education. Despite numerous inquiries, no reply was received.

"At last I managed to get Mr Siyo on the phone and pin him down.

"The outcome was that because of 'secret information' he was not prepared to change his decision," Mr Joseph said.

The Institute had in the meantime made arrangements for the extra lessons to continue in the partially completed Catholic Centre just outside Mdantsane.

The children have to walk from their school in all types of weather and space and facilities are limited.

A visit to the centre yesterday found about 130 children crammed into two classrooms.

Although the buildings are new, they lack all basic facilities such as desks and blackboards.

Extra lessons in Afrikaans were being taught by two Coloured teachers who asked not to be identified for fear of reprisals against them.

"Clearly the action of Mr Siyo is handicapping the educational advancement of black scholars," Mr Joseph said.

He pointed out that when the Institute's national director Mr Van Wyk visited East London an application for him to visit Mdantsane was turned down.

"It was the first time he had ever been refused entry to a black township," Mr Joseph said.

Teacher Mrs Mary Howe was adamant she did not want the affair to become political.

"I really loved teaching those kids," she said. "They were so interested and keen to learn. It was one of the most rewarding things I have ever done in my life.

"All of a sudden they made me stop. I am not a politician and I don't want to talk politics, but I just don't know why I was stopped," she said.

The Institute of Race Relations last year gave nearly R100 000 from its Bantu Welfare Trust for black education. — DDR.



not training them towards the day when they will be able to rule themselves.

"In addition, it may serve as an excuse for not paying them fair wages, which might lead to my company or country making a bigger profit from trade with this colony than would be possible if the 'native' inhabitants were fairly paid."

The children are told to be on their guard against generalising about groups.

"The forming of unfavourable stereotypes about other groups of human beings and the encouragement of aggressive feelings of superiority in our own group are matters of great importance in a crowded world in which people meet more often and more easily than they did in earlier days.

Hitler

"We cannot lightly pass over the possible results of such prejudice, particularly those caused by feelings of superiority."

It was because Hitler said that education should "stamp the conviction into the child that his own people and race are superior to all others" that those who had learnt this came to regard others as so inferior that they were persuaded to act against them in ways which make the majority of today's generation of Germans angry and ashamed of their recent past.

"Thus we must be careful, in our pride in the achievements of our own language, social, religious or racial group, that we do not become proud and aggressive towards other members of the human race."

One of the strangest things about prejudice is that people who have strong prejudices against other groups often have them against many groups, says Mr Auerbach.

Catholics

"In South Africa, if we think of Africans, Coloureds, Indians, Afrikaans-speaking and English-speaking Whites, British and Greek immigrants; Jews and Roman Catholics, we often find that those who strongly dislike one of those groups strongly dislike all the others . . ."

Some of the main points are:

- Human civilisation has grown from many roots; no group can claim that its achievements are based on what their own ancestors did and on nothing else.
- Race is a biological term. It refers to our physical inheritance. Social learning is a matter of learning from our early environment, not a matter of racial heredity.

Empires

- There have been numerous great empires in Africa in the past, of which most people in South Africa known very little. Egypt, Ghana, Benin, Mali and Ethiopia are some examples. In South Africa, Bantu-speaking tribes smelted iron and lived in organised, town-like communities at least 500 years ago.
- We may justly take pride in the past and present achievements of a group to which we belong, but we must not let this pride become so strong that we turn it into an attitude of superiority — "I'm better than you" — over other groups.
- It is enormously important to reduce tensions between groups. The geographical isolation which made the emergence of the different races possible has largly disappeared. "There is beginning to develop not a western or eastern, white or yellow, Christian or Buddhist, but a world civilisation."

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book that holds a lesson of hope for the future



Fred van Wyk: We want it in all schools

Teach 'em young: Whites are NOT superior

The little

By TONY SPENCER-SMITH

THOUSANDS of copies of what could become the first school text book on race are being printed.

The book is part of the offensive by the Institute of Race Relations to eliminate race prejudice among White schoolchildren.

The contents of the book, an updated and revised version of The ABC of Race by educationist Franz Auerbach, have been revealed exclusively to the Sunday Tribune.

Syllabi

Mr Fred van Wyk, director of the institute,

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These are the group labels that hurt

THE RACE RELATIONS INSTITUTE OPENS SCHOOL-WAR ON PREJUDICE

PEOPLE can make an enormous contribution to better understanding between the races by avoiding offensive group labels.

This is one of the most important messages which the Institute of Race Relations hopes to get through to schoolchildren through its textbook The ABC of Race.

The announcement, made exclusively to the SUNDAY TRIBUNE this week, that the institute is to urge it as a book for all White schools follows the finding by the Judge President of Natal, Mr Justice James, that the word "kaffir" is insulting.

Mr Justice James awarded Mr Delase Ciliza R150 damages with costs after a South African Police constable called him a kaffir.

The finding has been welcomed by many organisations and individuals.

The institute's book says people resent personal rudeness and nasty labels more than unpopular laws.

"A former Chief of the Army, Lieutenant-General Fraser, pointed out to the soldiers that angry words we use when speaking to African and other non-White people could easily turn them into our enemies."

Everyone can learn to avoid offensive labels and should correct friends who have not rid themselves of the habit.

Some say group names are affectionate nicknames and that the groups concerned don't mind having them used of them; it more or less like a pleasant joke.

"You can test this for yourself. Ask a person how he feels if you call him or her rock or rooinek, yid or goy, wog or limey, kaffir or coolie.

"To get an honest answer, you will first have to make him trust you."

Just to boost their self-pride, some people regard the colour white as better than the colour black because they associate whiteness with cleanliness and blackness with dirt.

"We need to become aware of this emotive power of words so that it will not cloud our judgment of individual human beings."

told me this week every attempt would be made to get the book — and its Afrikaans translation — into official school syllabi throughout the country.

"We want to make it part of Youth Preparedness," he said.

The book has not been available in Afrikaans before. The translation is called Ras, Beskawing en Vooroordeel — Race, Civilisation and Prejudice.

Mr van Wyk said the institute would also press for the inclusion of the book in all school libraries.

Questions

Written in textbook form, with questions for the schoolchildren to answer by themselves, the book puts forward a mass of data designed to explode such ideas as:

- The White race is superior to the other races.
- Western civilisation was built purely through White ingenuity, when in fact it is based on hundreds of inventions made by people of different races all over the world.
- Other races have been cruel and murderous in their history, but not Whites. Here the Nazi genocide policy towards the Jews is discussed and condemned.

The book warns that no group should be treated with contempt because this leads to "blind rage."

Old wars and grievances must not be fought over again this generation and if this lesson is not learnt, "there is very little hope for the future of South Africa, or the future of the world."

Mr Auerbach writes: "When those now 13 years old are about 40, there will be tens of thousands of well-educated people with dark skins in South Africa, no matter what the political arrangement in South Africa is then.

Privileged

"Those now at school who are light-skinned, and thus belong to a privileged group, must learn to treat people of all groups with respect and with courtesy. Have you ever felt what it is like to be treated with contempt?"

Much of the book analyses the causes and effects of prejudice and gives guidelines for peaceful coexistence in a multiracial society.

Mr Auerbach says: "Though older people will, I hope, find this book worthwhile, it has been written especially for girls and boys of 13 to 15 years of age, many of whom have recently started high school.

"Some people will say that you are too young for the problems discussed in this book, and that it is too difficult for you. I hope they are wrong."

Important

At 13, one stops being a child and starts developing into an adult who can start thinking seriously about the world and its problems.

"The problems discussed in this book are important. They are mainly concerned with how we deal with groups of people other than our own — with our knowledge, opinions and attitudes.

"Many people like to forget about these problems, but to forget about a problem does not help to solve it, and how to get on with other people is a problem which man has never yet solved very successfully."

In the section on problems of peaceful coexistence, he says one of the reasons why prejudice has always been so widespread is personal advantage.

"If I persuade myself that all Negro slaves are inferior, this gives me an excuse for continuing to keep slaves, whom I don't have to pay after buying them.

"If I regard a whole race as inferior this gives me, if I am the governor of a colony chiefly inhabited by an "inferior race", a justification for

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(4) 48
(2) 291

New bursary fund for blacks started

Dispatch 19/9/75.

EAST LONDON — The Border Regional Branch of the Institute of Race Relations has launched a bursary fund for black pupils on the Border, for 1976.

This was stated by the regional secretary of the Institute, Mr F. O. Joseph, in his annual report on the Institute's bursaries' operation for 1974/75.

He said the bursary work had expanded considerably, covering the Transkei as well as the Ciskei and the Border.

The Institute sees as its priority the reduction of the appalling drop-out of black scholars, through financial need at the higher levels. The bursaries are granted on merit, irrespective of the school attended or the area from which the scholar comes.

Reviewing the activities of the bursaries' section of the Institute, Mr Joseph said: "It is a matter of sad reflection that such a small part of our funds (less than one-fifth) comes from East London."

He said the need was growing as more and more schools were being opened.

The state had increased its expenditure on black education but the burden on parents was far greater than the average parent or guardian could shoulder without outside assistance, the report stated.

Those more fortunate must play their part until free and compulsory education is available to every child.

The bursaries did not cover the full cost of keeping a black child at school for a year.

Black children in upper classes had to pay for most of their books, hostel fees, train fares, and uniforms which cost too much. —DDR

Mahabane gets Wits doctorate

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The University of the Witwatersrand will on Wednesday confer an honorary doctorate of law on the Reverend Ezekiel Mahabane, 77, for his dedicated efforts to improve race relations.

The honour is also in recognition of the Reverend Mahabane's outstanding career in the service of the Church. He is president of the South African Institute of Race Relations, honorary life president of the South African Council of Churches and deputy chairman of the South-western Transvaal district of the Methodist Church.

325/303.

Police arrest institute man

Staff Reporter

SECURITY police early yesterday surrounded the home of Mr Temba Nolutshungu, youth organizer of the Institute of Race Relations, and detained him under the General Law Amendment Act.

This was confirmed later in the day by a spokesman for the security police in Cape Town.

Last night Mr Michael Savage, the institute's chairman, said he had been told that six security policemen and eight members of the Riot Squad in camouflage dress arrived at Mr Nolutshungu's house in Langa at 1.30am yesterday.

The house was searched and Mr Nolutshungu was taken away under police escort.

"Deeply disturbed"

Mr Savage, as a spokesman for the institute, said in a statement that he and his colleagues had been "deeply disturbed" by the detention.

Mr Nolutshungu was a "serious and responsible person" who was admired and respected by those who worked with him, he said.

A fortnight ago he had taken part in an open panel discussion on the August-September riots, which was held in the Metropolitan Hall, Burg Street, and attended by all races.

Frank exchange

Mr Savage said it appeared to the institute that it was because of his frank exchange of opinion with other Blacks on the panel that Mr Nolutshungu had been detained.

If this was so it was a blow to the nature of the open discussion, Mr Savage said.

Police would not comment on the reasons for the detention.

● **Mr Savage's statement, page 2.**

325 (303).

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Statement on detained man

THE FOLLOWING is the text of a statement issued last night by Mr Michael Savage, Cape Western chairman of the Institute of Race Relations:

I am deeply disturbed by the detention of Mr Temba Noluishungu. Mr Nolutshungu was detained at 1.30am on Friday when six policemen and eight riot policemen came to his house in Langa. Mr Nolutshungu is a serious and responsible citizen who is employed as a Youth Organizer by the Institute of Race Relations to further our work among all sections of the young. We place our full confidence in him.

We are particularly disturbed that his detention may be related to a panel discussion in Unrest in the Western Cape, which took place at our annual general meeting on October 20th. Included in the panel of speakers at this meeting were two Black scholars, identified only as Archie and Jeff, who spoke, with emotion about their experiences and presented their views about the unrest frankly and forthrightly. This was the first time in South Africa since the current unrest began that Black scholars have spoken at a public meeting in a place open to all sections of the population and answered questions from the floor. We believe that subsequent to this meeting a Black scholar was held by the police for questioning in the belief that he was one of the speakers on the panel. After being questioned this young man was released by the police. Now our Youth Organizer has been detained by the police.

It is a sad commentary on the growth of authoritarianism in our land tht it no longer appears possible to hold a meeting open to the public to discuss the grave events of recent times without some of the participants being harassed by the police. We cannot solve the problems confronting us in our country while young people are being detained and open discussion threatened.

325/303.

RACE RELATIONS MAN IS HELD IN LANGA

Argus 6/11/76

MR TEMBA NOLUTSHUNGU, youth organiser of the South African Institute of Race Relations in the Cape, was detained by police at his home in Langa at 1.30 am yesterday.

Mr Nolutshungu is being held under section 22 of the General Laws Amendment Act.

He was led from his home by six uniformed policemen while eight riot policemen stood by outside the house.

Mr Michael Savage, chairman of the Western Cape Region of the Institute, said in a statement yesterday:

'I am deeply disturbed by the detention of Mr Temba Nolutshungu. Mr Nolutshungu was detained at 1.30 am on Friday when six policemen and eight riot policemen came to his house in Langa.

'Mr Nolutshungu is a serious and responsible citizen who is employed as a youth organiser by the institute to further its work among all sections of the young. We place our full confidence in him.

'We are particularly disturbed that his detention may be related to a panel discussion on unrest in the Western Cape which took place at our annual meeting on October 20.

'Included on the panel of speakers at this meeting were two Black scholars identified only as Arnie and Geoff who spoke with emotion about their experiences and presented their views on the unrest fairly and forthrightly.

'This was the first time in South Africa since the current unrest began that Black scholars have spoken at a public meeting in a place open to all sectors of the population and answered questions from the audience.

'We believe that subsequent to this meeting a Black scholar was held by the police for questioning in the belief that he was one of the speakers on the panel.

'After being questioned, this young man was released by the police. Now our youth organiser has been detained.

'It is a sad commentary on the growth of authoritarianism in our land that it no longer appears possible to hold a meeting open to the public to discuss the grave events of recent times without some of the participants being harassed by the police.

303

Riots an eye-opener for whites — prof

10/4/76

EAST LONDON — The apartheid system has had one advantage which may yet prove a fatal flaw, according to Prof P. Mayer of Rhodes University.

In an introduction to his address on "Prophets and Patriots in Xhosa History" at the annual meeting of the Border branch of the South African Institute of Race Relations last night, Prof Mayer said apartheid had caused physical and psychological misery to blacks.

"At the same time it has enabled the majority of whites to remain blind to the reality of this misery.

"Since the unrest in the townships whites can no longer shelter behind ignorance. This surely is one of the most important developments in this eventful year for South Africa," Prof Mayer said.

Many whites had been rudely jolted out of complacency into a new awareness.

"On the other hand the much discussed change in the conciousness of the younger generation of blacks has been a gradual process. It is perhaps best summed up as slow change from resignation to confidence, and from despair to anger," he said.

Prof Mayer said this awareness had caused whites to ask "What next?"

He said if their new awareness of the feelings of blacks was to be realistic it should include a historical perspective — "a consciousness of the very long time blacks have been experiencing their anger and despondency."

In his report at the meeting the regional chairman of the Institute of Race Relations, Mr D. M. A. Kirk, said the institute had participated in the establishing of the Group Relations Committee in East London, which had been tackling the problem of Coloured housing.

They had also had interviews with the Mayors of Beacon Bay and East London about the problem of beaches for blacks.

"A meeting has been arranged and will be held in Beacon Bay. This meeting is to be attended by various government departments and local authorities," Mr Kirk said. — DDR.

(1) 303

(2) ~~336~~

F.M. 12/11/76

That at least one Johannesburg organisation had a near 100% stay-away of its African workers last week — the SA Institute of Race Relations?

Its Black staff took a collective decision to stay away from work in sympathy with the Soweto SRC's call for a week of mourning for people killed in the current upheavals.

A strong backlash from the Institute's White staff has resulted, and there are pressures for docking of pay during any future boycott. So it seems that race relations at Race Relations are going through a rough patch.

(81/333/303.

CT : 13/11/76

Arrests and riot deaths: Statement by the Institute of Race Relations

Staff Reporter

IN A STATEMENT yesterday the South African Institute of Race Relations, Cape Western Region, disclosed the names of 15 people whom the institute believes have been detained under security legislation since October 28. The institute also released the names of 94 people whom it believes died in the recent unrest.

The statement, which was issued by Mr Michael Savage, chairman, Cape Western region, said:

The following people are known to have been detained under security legislation in the Cape Town area since 28 October, 1976:

SAKHIWO NKENTSHE Guguletu
MONICA MBEIRA Guguletu
NOSHUMI MBEYIYA Nyanga
KENNETH FASI Guguletu
HAPI MAGQWASHU Guguletu
SHEPHERD BHEJA Nyanga
JONAS BOSCH Bishop Lavis
RONNIE MAZANA Nyanga
TEMBA NOLUTSHUNGU Langa
NOSISI MNGXEKEZA ?
CONFERENCE FESI Langa
KIDMAN FESI Langa
NORMAN BAKANA ?
SAMUEL LOUW Hanover Park
ALBERT FRITS Hanover Park

Due to the refusal of the police to release the names of those who have been detained there may be inadvertent inaccuracies in the above list and it is also possible that more people than those listed have been detained under security legislation. This list concerns only those detained since 28th October, 1976 and it should be remembered that at least 27 people are being held in detention without trial at Victor Verster Prison in Paarl.

The following is a list of deaths believed to be directly related to the unrest in the Western Cape. The list has been compiled from a variety of overlapping sources and its accuracy is difficult to ascertain for the following reasons:

(a) the Administrator of the Cape Dr L A P A Munnik has taken the position that the Provincial Administration would not issue a list of those killed or injured in the recent unrest (Cape Times, 16/9/76). The State Pathologist, Professor Knobel, has also refused to provide lists of people killed. Thus there has been an official silence on the extent of death and injury.

(b) deaths are not necessarily publicly reported and private burials may have been conducted for some victims.

(c) inaccuracies in compiling this list may result from mis-spelt names, duplications or incorrect information. Any errors are inadvertent and would best be corrected by the State showing its preparedness to divulge information that is of serious public concern.

ADAMS, Sandra Joyce, 24 years, of Kewtown. Killed in Athlone September 16. Shot dead while standing on third floor.

ADRIAANSE, Noel, 13 years, of Oribi New Hanover Park. Died September 7. Died of gunshot wounds received near Town Centre. Died Hanover Park, night Sept. 8.

AFRICA, Piete, 24 years, 49 White Supply, Montagu. Sept. 11. Details of death under investigation.

ALBIN, David Basil, 16 years, Elsie's River. Shot Sept. 9. Wounded near home — gunshot.

ALLIE, Abdurahman, of Piet Retief Street, Parow. Died Sept. 18. Shot. Businessman.

APPOLIS, Christopher, 16 years. Winterberg Avenue, Heideveld. Died Sept. 9. Died of wounds received near home. Shot dead in Mannenberg.

BARNES, Isaac, 15 years. Assegaai Avenue, Bonteheuwel. Died Aug. 25 Shot.

BEZUIDENHOUT, Isaac. Mosselbay. Died prior to Sept. 14. Buried.

BOTHA, Neville. 7th Avenue, Retreat. Shot Sept. 16. Died of wounds received near home.

CAROLISSEN, Gasant, 20 years. Parkwood Estate. Shot Sept. 2.

CAROLISSEN, Ronald Charles, 22 years. Sept. 9. Stellenbosch. C.T. 24/9/76. Reported by D.Curry, CRC.

CLOETE, Joseph Edward. 27 years. Sugarloaf Road, Mannenberg. Shot in Mannenberg Sept. 9.

COOK, Faried, 16 years. Mannenberg. Died Sept. Shot.

DAJEE, Bhanudey, 37 years. Retreat. Died Sept. 10. Shot. Shopkeeper.

DANIEL, John. Retreat. Sept. 15.

DONDI, Sydwell Barki. Guguletu NY 50 No. 135. Shot Sept. 16.

DANIELS, Kammips. 33 years. 17 Primose Street, Cleetesville. Sept. 7. Shot dead.

DAVIDS, John. 8 (c) Belinda Walk. Sept. 9, 1976. Shot dead.

DAVIDS, Rachaad, 17 years. 16 Strandroos Close, Kewtown. Sept. 17, 1976. Shot.

DUBE, Yvene. 45 years. 409 Amstel Hof, Paarl East. Sept. 9. Shot dead.

ELLIOT, I. No details. Dependents.

ESSOP, Dawood. 5 Tugela Road, Mannenberg. Aug. 26, 1976. Shot dead.

"FERDI". ? Age. ? Address of Guguletu. Died Aug. 18 — 20. (25 Sept. 76 Cape Times.)

FERGUSON, Henry Andrew. 31 years. Groenwalt, Hanover Park. Sept. 2.

FINK, Alfred. 14/15 years. Vrygrond, Steenberg. Sept. 15.

FISH, Edward. 41 14th Avenue, Ravensmead. Sept. 9. Shot dead.

GASNOLA, Saleiman. 17 years. Thorton Road, Athlone. Died Sept. 9 or 10. Shot.

GENU, Fostus. 28 years. Guguletu. Aug. 12.

GOBILE, Chris. 22 years, Guguletu. Died Aug. 11, 1976.

GUSHMAN, Edwin. NY 77 No. 22, Guguletu. Aug. 12, 1976. Shot dead.

HARRIS, Ronald. Bango Crescent, Silvertown. Died Sept. 16.

HOOGAARDT, Spasiena, 15 years. Nickle Road, Hugenot Paarl. Sept. 9. Shot.

ISAACS, Colin. 30 years (?). Retreat. Sept. 15.

ISAACS, John. 15 years. 21 Jordan Street, Mannenberg. Shot Sept. 9.

JACOBS, Mervyn. 38 Street, Elsies River. Sept. 8. Shot.

JACOBS, Shaheed. 15 years. District Six. Died Sept. 6. Shot.

KAMESE, Adries. 28 years. NY 156 No. 17, Guguletu. Aug. 12. Shot dead.

KAMFER, Benjamin. 16 years. 39, 11th Avenue, Ravensmead. Sept. 10. Shot dead.

KHAN, Naziem. 15 years. Mannenberb. Sept. 16.

KLEINSMITH, Angelaire. 29 years. 14th Avenue, Elsie's River. Sept. 8.

KHUMALO, Joseph. Guguletu. Sept. 10.

LEE, Ralph. 16 years. Retreat Road, Retreat. Died Sept. 8. Shot.

LIMBA, B. Guguletu. Sept. 16 19.

LUCAS, Cornelius. Mossel Bay. Died prior to Sept. 15.

LUTYA, Wiseman. 23 years. Guguletu. Aug. 12.

MAN: Youth shot dead in Guguletu. Unidentified. Police opened fire on 'mob' approaching police station. (Cape Times 26 October, 1976.)

MAN: Shot dead by Police — allegedly throwing petrol bomb. Unidentified. (Cape Times 13 Oct. 76.)

MARNIE, Alfred. 18 years. Retreat. Shot Sept. 9.

MASIBA, Nkululo. 25 years. Guguletu. Died Aug. 11, 1976.

MTETWA, Temba. 21 years. Guguletu. Aug. 31.

MATHIESON, Reginald. Vrygrond 893. Sept. 9.

MAY, Nicholas. Vrygrond 2861. Sept. 8. Shot.

MAZWE, Mncedisi. 16 years. Guguletu. Sept. 16.

MAZWI, Zinzo. Guguletu, Sept. 16-19.

MEYER, Karl. 44 years. Hesterhof, Heideveld. Sept. 9.

MJAMBA, Douglas. 20 years. Guguletu. August, 12.

MOSES, Philip. 42 years. 45, 9th Avenue, Ravensmead. Sept. 11. Shot dead.

MOSI, Xohle (Xqule). 18 years. Guguletu. August, 12.

MSHUDULU, Reginald. 22 years. Guguletu. August 11. Shot.

MTETO, Vakile Abrahams. NY6 No. 26. Guguletu. August 12. Shot dead.

MVUKUSE, Rebson Thankabanth. NY 150, Room 115. Guguletu. Sept. 17, 1976. Shot.

NDINGANE, M. 13 years. Guguletu. Died Sept. 15. Shot.

NDUNA, Kenneth. 38 years. 4 Buttenheut Street, Langa. August 11, 1976. Shot dead.

NEZUMGA, Nicholas Silo. 22 years. NY 140, No. 7 Guguletu. August 11. Shot dead.

NGXGABI, Joseph. 22 years. Guguletu. August 12.

NIXKEY, Basil. 42 years. Manenberg. Sept. 9.

NONKASA, Victor. NY 10, No. 32. Guguletu. Sept. 19, 1976. Shot dead.

NTEKO, Telford 'Muuselelo. 17 years. Guguletu. August 12.

OCTOBER, Ronald. 18 years. Welcome Estate. Died Sept. 16.

OLIFANT, Harrison. 15 years. NY 12, Room 64, Guguletu. October 25. Shot dead.

OPPERMAN, Michael John. 19 Years. Died Sept. 9 of gunshot wounds received at Hanover Park.

PAULSEN, 14A Kaseyaweg. Manenberg. Sept. 9. Shot dead.

PETERS, Sandra. 11 years (13 years), Athlone. Died Sept. 4. Shot.

PETERS, Phylliss. 43 years. Athlone. Sept. 16.

PETERSEN, G J. 22 years. 1st Avenue, Retreat. Died Sept. 8. Shot.

SOGIBA, Bettfund. 11 years. Of Nyanga East. Letter in Cape Town — shot by traffic officer when allegedly setting fire to an Ottery Service Station.

SWART, Christie. 17 years. 11th Avenue, Ravensmead. Sept. 8. Shot.

TRUTER, Christopher. 15 years. Bonteheuwel. Died Sept. 1. Shot.

TSHAYA, Michael. 18 years. NY 11, Room 4, Guguletu. August, 11

VAN DER ROSS, Nora. Steenberg. Sept. 16.

VAN KERKE, Naorin. 10 (9) years. Ravensmead. Tiervlei. Sept. 8. Shot.

VAN ZYL, Alec. 23 years. Retreat. Sept. 15.

VERMEULEN, G. 20 years. 16 B Bonteheuwel Avenue, Bonteheuwel. Sept. 16. Shot.

VILJOEN, Sally. 51 years. Lamperts Street, Paarl East, Paarl. Sept. 9. Shot. Shot in taxi going home.

WILLIAMS, George. 47 21B Vrygrond. Sept. 9. Shot.

WILLIAMS, Gerald. 27 years. No. 7. 4th Avenue, Bokmakierie. Shot.

WOUKAZA, Victor Mzwandile. 18 years. Guguletu. Sept. 16.

XHIPNU, Mncedisi. 28 years. NY 58, Room 19, Guguletu. Sept. 6. Shot.

YASIN, Ridwaan. 23 years. Kalant Road, Belhar. Sept. 7. Shot. Wounds received in Darling Street on Sept. 7.

ZANTSI, Sonnyboy. 17 years. Guguletu. Sept. 16.

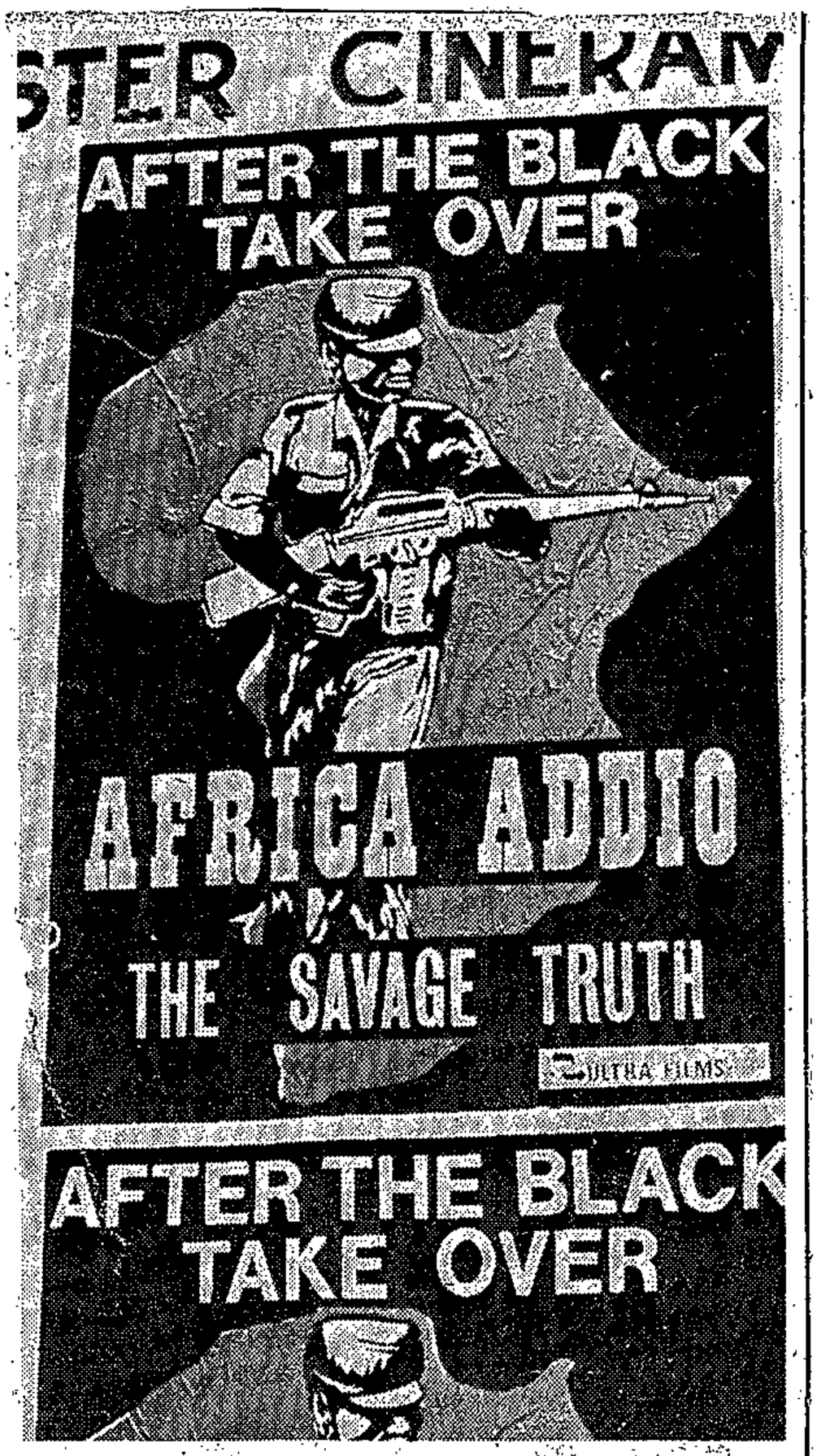
ZANTSI, Wilhe. Guguletu. Sept. 16-19.

ZONDANI, Duyifile (Alfred?) Guguletu. Died August 16-19 (?).

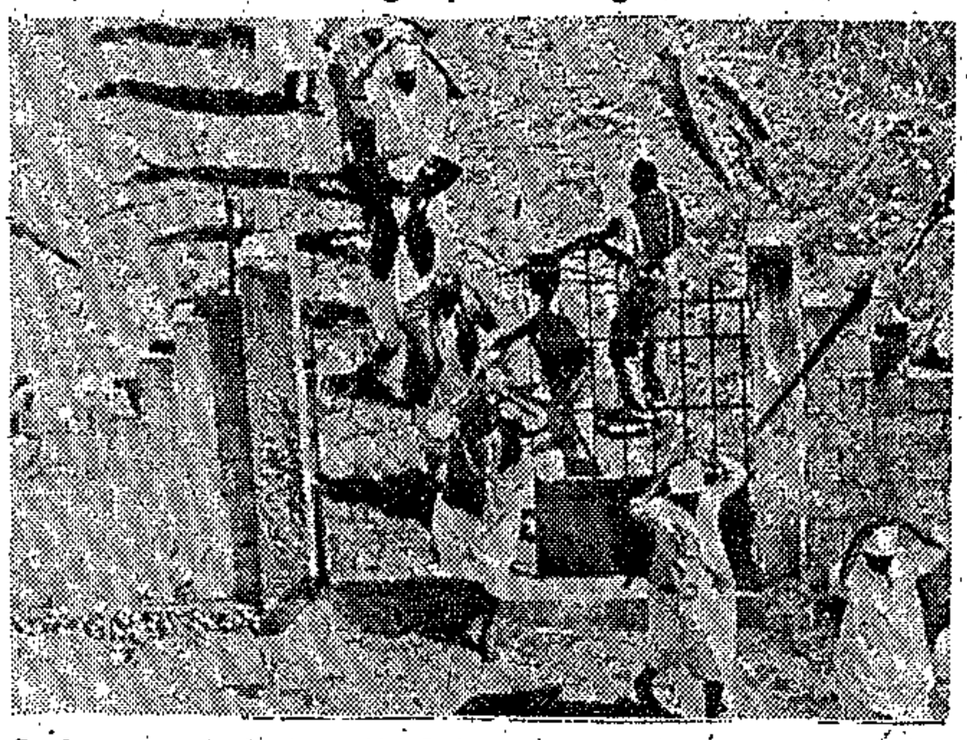
ZONDANI, Wellington. 20 years. NY 74, No. 57, Guguletu. Sept. 0 Shot in Manenberg.

ZUBA, Petelo. 24 years. Guguletu August 12.

39.



● The posters advertising "Africa Addio" which the SA Institute of Race Relations regards as 'highly inciting'.



● A scene from "Africa Addio" — masses of Arabs going to "extermination camps" in Kenya.

14/11/76 Sunday Exp

Moves to ban 'Africa Addio' as inflammatory

By ROSEMARY NORTHCOTT

ATTEMPTS are being made to have the controversial and bloodthirsty film of the Sixties, "Africa Addio", banned in South Africa because showing it could inflame the racial situation.

Street posters advertising the film — about alleged Black atrocities in Central Africa — show a Black terrorist carrying a machine gun imposed on a map of Africa with the caption "After the black take over".

But as complaints the film in Johannesburg on Thursday, the co-distributor, Mr Judex Viljoen of Ultra Films said: "We reckon that South Africa has the right political climate for it.

"You only have to look at Angola and read stories about mass graves and villages being razed to know this film is a lesson about what can happen if things get out of control."

The film — there have always been question marks about its authenticity — presents a brutal anthology of the massacres of animals and of retribution killings Watutsi.

On its release, the film was banned by Black Africa and many European countries.

And now the South African Institute of Race Relations wants the film banned here too.

"The material has been carefully selected to propogate that all Africans are cruel, barbaric and incapable of ruling a country in a civilised manner," said Mr Jeff Wolfson, the acting director of the Institute.

"Any Black South African could justifiably consider

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Ban order on Race Relations woman

Star 18/11/76

Miss Jenny Curtis (26), an archivist at the Institute of Race Relations, was served with a banning order under the Internal Security Act at her office early today.

Miss Curtis — sister of the banned former Nusas president, Mr Neville Curtis, who fled to Australia in 1974 — is the sixth person to be banned in Johannesburg this week.

Serving of the order at 9 am today ended a cat-and-mouse game which began at midnight on Tuesday when police arrived at the home of Mr Jack Curtis, Jenny's father.

Yesterday Wits University arranged for her to write a paper in African government early, so that she could not be served with the order at the exams hall.

But the banning means she will be unable to take honours in African government next year as planned.

Mr Jeff Wolfson, acting director of the institute, said the order prevented her from continuing her work for Race Relations.

A former Transvaal regional director of Nusas and Wits SRC member, Miss Curtis, was detained for more than two months last year after the arrest of Afrikaans poet Breyten Breytenbach.

"No charges were brought against her, then or now," said Mr Wolfson. "The institute expresses its total opposition to the continued arbitrary harassment of a person who is committed to peaceful change in South Africa."

~~375~~ 303

JOHANNESBURG — The Government crackdown on black trade unions continued yesterday with the banning of eight people in Natal — bringing the number of bannings to 13 in the past three days.

The trade unionists served with five-year banning orders yesterday in terms of the Internal Security Act had all been associated with the Natal-based Trade Union Advisory and Co-ordinated Council (TUACC) representing five black trade unions with membership of 50 000 to 60 000 workers, or the Institute for Industrial Education (IIE), a service organisation to TUACC unions.

They are:

Mr Alpheus Mthetwa, the general secretary of the Metal and Allied Workers' Union, which has 8 000 members in branches in Durban, Pietermaritzburg and on the Reef.

Mr John Copeland, secretary of the TUACC and of the Textile Workers' Industrial Union.

Mr Charles Simpkins, a former research officer for the Institute for Industrial Education, who is now a lecturer in economics at the University of Natal.

Mr Chris Albertyn, secretary of the registered Textile Workers' Industrial Union.

Mrs Jeanette Murphy, former secretary of the TUACC, who was previously banned and whose banning order was lifted in May last year.

Mr Mike Murphy, acting secretary of the Transport and General Workers' Union, who worked part-time. He teaches English at Grosvenor High School.

Miss Pat Horn, an education officer for the IIE, involved in literacy projects for black workers.

Mr Mfundise Ndlovu, a Pietermaritzburg organiser for the Metal and Allied Workers' Union.

In Johannesburg, Miss Jeanette Curtis, an archivist at the Institute of Race Relations since 1973, was served with a banning order under the Internal Security Act. She is a past official of the Industrial Aid Society, an organisation providing education, and legal advice to workers.

Last year Miss Curtis was held in solitary confinement for 65 days in terms of the Terrorism Act. No charges were brought against her.

Miss Curtis is a sister of the banned former Nusas president, Mr Neville Curtis.

Earlier this week five people associated with black trade unions were banned for five years under the Internal Security Act. They were: Mr Loet Douwes-Dekker, Mr Eric Tyacke and Mrs Jean Tyacke, all officials of the Urban Training Project — a service organisation to unions in Johannesburg — and Mr Sipho Khubeka and Mr Gavin Andersson, the secretary and an organiser of the Metal and Allied Workers' Union's Transvaal branch

Last night the Metal and Allied Workers' Union's Transvaal branch issued a statement deploring the bannings of the TUACC and UTP unionists and their own officials.

The union said trade union activities among blacks were not illegal. In banning these officials, the Government had shown it was incapable of bringing them to court and accusing them of illegal activities in terms of the country's laws.

The acting director of the Institute of Race Relations, Mr J. G. Wolfson, said the institute strongly condemned the use of banning as a means of punishing a person who had not been accused of any crime.

Meanwhile, the German Embassy in Pretoria has confirmed that a grandson of Mr Clements Kadalie, the pioneer of trade unionism among black workers, is being held by the Security Police.

The grandson, Mr Kwaezi Kadalie, is a German citizen. — DDC.

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Curtis ban deplored

STAR
22 JUN 76

The banning of the South African Institute of Race Relations archivist, Miss Jeanette Curtis, has been strongly deplored by the institute.

Due to the banning order, served on her last week, she will not be able to continue working for the institute. Neither will she be able to continue the studies she was undertaking on a part-time basis.

"The institute condemns in the strongest terms the use of banning as a means of punishing a person who has not been accused of any crime," says a statement released by the institute.

"In 1975 Miss Curtis was held in solitary confinement for 63 days in terms of the Terrorism Act. No charges were brought against her then, as now."

Capitalism 'only for the rich Whites'

Own Correspondent

DURBAN. — Black South Africans rejected the free enterprise system because they believed it was only for the rich, only for the Whites, Dr C. van der Pol, group managing director of Huletts, said last night.

Opening the Institute of Race Relations conference in Durban, he said Blacks would use political freedom to promote the Marxist system, which was preoccupied with the distribution, not the creation, of wealth.

"Black townships are full of people prepared to use violence and revolution to destroy a system in which there appears to be no place for them.

"Blacks in Kwa Mashu and Soweto are right: the free enterprise system is only for the Whites in this country.

"This is not only because Blacks are prevented from voting for the government they would like but are prevented from doing things necessary for becoming part of the system," he said.

Mr Van der Pol said too many South Africans were politically dishonest.

"We talk like Progressives, vote UP and thank the Lord for a strong Nationalist Government.

"We must be prepared to put our money where our mouth is.

"Employers must accept the principle of equal pay for equal work, employees must accept that a White skin does not entitle them to the cream of the labour market, shareholders must accept lower profits."

Addressing Afrikaans-speaking Whites specifically, he said 200 years ago America, in its most difficult years, solved its problems by calling a convention of all interested parties.

"Has the time not come for us to push our political parties to one side and sit as citizens around a table, White, Black and Brown, to create a new sharing system for all," he asked.

Race Relations Conference

Apartheid in churches

DURBAN. — All South African churches and denominations with the possible exception of the Roman Catholics, practised segregation or discrimination, the Rev E. Mahabane told the Institute of Race Relations in Durban last night.

Because of this, Blacks were criticising and leaving the church, he said.

Hatred surfacing, says Mahabane

Own Correspondent

DURBAN. — Young Black men can no longer conceal their hatred and will no longer tolerate their frustration, the Institute of Race Relations was told in Durban last night.

The Rev E. Mahabane, the institute's president, said the riots of 1976 could have been avoided if the authorities had taken seriously the national conference on education organised by the institute in July, 1952.

Delivering this year's urgent need for fundamental change in South Africa, he said that despite having accepted Christianity, Blacks were still denied the rights and privileges enjoyed by Whites.

The Government was still carrying on a policy handed down to them by Government.

Mr Mahabane said priorities for change were the abolition of pass laws, influx control, job reservation and migratory labour, and the repeal of the 1913 Land Act, the Group Areas, Bantu Education, Coloured Education and Separate Universities Acts.

the British 70 years ago, he said.

He quoted Lord Kitchener as saying: "It is not the intention of His Majesty's Government to give such franchise to the kaffirs.

"Even if it is given after those colonies the Transvaal and Free State are granted representative government, it will be so limited as to secure the just predominance of the White race."

Mr Mahabane said the Rhodesian Prime Minister Mr Ian Smith, was also perpetuating a policy han-

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Black warning to PM for quick change

DD 12/11/77

DURBAN — Young black men can no longer conceal their hatred and will no longer tolerate their frustration, the Institute of Race Relations was told here last night.

The Rev E. Mahabane said the riots of 1976 could have been avoided if the authorities had "taken seriously" the National Conference on Education organised by the Institute in July 1952.

Delivering this year's presidential address on the urgent need for fundamental change in South Africa, he said in spite of having accepted Christianity "blacks are still denied the rights and privileges enjoyed by the white people."

The Government was still carrying on a policy handed down to them by the British Government 70 years ago, he said.

Mr Mahabane said Rhodesian Premier Mr Smith was also perpetuating a policy handed down by the British Government.

Mr Mahabane said the time for change had come and called on the Prime Minister to heed the voices calling for a national convention.

Priorities for change were the abolition of pass laws, influx control, job reservation and migratory labour, and the repeal of the 1913 Land Act, the Group Areas Act, Bantu Education Act, Coloured Education Act and Separate Universities Act.

He said all South African churches and denominations practise segregation or discrimination.

The only possible exception was the Catholic Church.

"But here, too, the heirarchy is almost exclusively white," Mr Mahabane said.

The weakness of the church in South Africa was that all denominations are organised along segregated lines.

"The black people are losing interest in the church because of this practise and the church is strongly criticised by black congregations.

"There are, in most cases, white ministers for whites, black ministers for blacks, Coloured ministers for Coloureds and Indian ministers for Indians."

He added that if the church wanted to save its image it would have to act quickly.

Dr C. van der Pol, group managing director of Huletts — who opened the conference — said black South Africans rejected the free enterprise system because in their view it was only for the rich, the whites.

Blacks would use political freedom to promote a system preoccupied with the distribution, not the creation, of wealth.

"The Marxist system is preoccupied with the distribution of wealth," he said.

"Black townships are full of people prepared to use violence and revolution to destroy a system in which there appears to be no place for them.

"Blacks in KwaMashu and Soweto are right: The free enterprise system is only for the whites in this country." — DDC.

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Audio/visuals

Is it essential to show any audio/visuals such as a film or a videotape?

Venue

Cape Times 13/1/77

Race Relations conference

Police warned on 'spooks' in cupboards

DURBAN. — Police were yesterday warned that seeing political "spooks" in every Black cupboard resulted in unnecessary suspicion and fear.

Mr Michael Ranthon of the Social Work Department at the University of the Witwatersrand, was speaking to the Institute of Race Relations in Durban.

Several well-established Black organizations had bred leaders, poets, authors, theatre stars, boxers and athletes who had made names for themselves and South Africa.

"One notes with sadness, however, that some of these organizations had found it impossible to continue as they were harrassed by the police, who suspect political motives in every aspect of Black life.

He also criticized the "dehumanizing" methods used to assess the ages of old age pensioners by officials.

"Lady senior citizens have to exhibit their uncovered heads to junior Whites for the officials to satisfy themselves that the applicant's head has gone grey.

"This is most insulting to say the least."

He said language used by White officials was often "unbecoming" and the finger-printing method used — taking prints of all digits of the hands regardless of literacy — is used solely on criminals elsewhere in the world.

● See "Apartheid a luxury the economy cannot afford" — page 10.

(a) What equipment will you have at your disposal? Will there be an experienced projectionist available?

(b) Are there any suitable visuals or other aids (e.g. films, videotapes, sound tapes, slides, etc.) already available?

(c) What facilities are there for obtaining or making others you may need?

Budget

Has a budget already been prepared? If so, how much money has been allowed for:

'Pass laws cost SA over R112m a year'

Staff Reporter

SOUTH AFRICA spends more than R112-million a year to maintain the pass law system — only one aspect of the apparatus of apartheid, a leading sociologist said in Durban last night.

Addressing the annual conference of the South African Institute of Race Relations, Dr Michael Savage, senior lecturer in the Department of Sociology at the University of Cape Town, said: "Elementary arithmetic shows that we cannot pay for apartheid and its defence and at the same time have any serious commitment to creating an open, non-discriminatory society.

"The choice White South Africa faces is a clear one — prepare to move on to a war footing and continue to implement apartheid, or dismantle segregation and use South Africa's resources to deal with the human needs of its population."

● Full story — Page 13

(303)

RACE RELATIONS...

African tells how liberals fail them

Mercury Reporter

AFRICANS reject all White-conceived policies such as one-man-one-vote or the qualified franchise, Dr. S. M. E. Bhengu, student adviser at Zululand University, said yesterday.

"Africans ridicule the repetition of the foreign 'one-man-one-vote' slogan just as they have done with the 'one-man-one-wife' doctrine," he said.

He told the Race Relations Institute these slogans were meaningless to his people.

"Blacks recognise themselves as being capable of fashioning a new political system and ideology which will be truly African and democratic."

Asked during question time to explain the new political ideology Blacks supported, Dr. Bhengu said he did not have the time to explain it in detail.

"The events of 1976 should not only be proof of the Africans' rejection of the imposition of Western or Eastern-conceived political concepts in Africa. It should be a strong warning of the grim future that awaits us," he said.

Dr. Bhengu, who is also secretary-general of the Inkatha movement, dismissed the qualified franchise as "a violation of the God-given right that each person should determine how he or she will be governed."

"It is on this point that our ways part with the White liberals who have chosen to sacrifice the divine humanness and human rights of poor and uneducated Blacks on the altar of materialistic interests.

"It would be shameful arrogance for both educated Blacks and Whites to monopolise human political rights on the grounds of their educational and material possessions."

He joined several other speakers at this week's conference in calling for a national convention.

IN THE SWIM IF HE WERE WHITE...

Mercury Reporter

APARTHEID was traumatic for the children of South Africa, Dr. M. B. Naidoo, a former school principal, said yesterday.

A member of the South African Indian Council, he told the Race Relations Institute how his son had learnt about swimming-pool segregation.

"In England my son played happily with all children in swimming pools, he said.

"When we were driving past Durban's beach baths on our return, he asked me to stop the car. I stopped and he said he wanted to go for a swim.

"I told him I hadn't the time.

"A month later we were again driving past the baths. I had forgotten the incident, but he again asked if he could swim.

"This time I told him the truth: In this country your skin colour prevents you from swimming there.

"The next morning he raided my wife's cupboard, and when she emerged from the bathroom, he was standing with white cream smeared over his face and hands.

"He demanded that I be called to take him swimming as he was now white."

Dr. Naidoo said this illustrated the trauma that apartheid could cause in a young child.

'FEARLESS YOUTH' WARNING

Mercury Reporter

YOUNG Africans have a grim and fatalistic determination not to stomach what their elders put up with, Professor David Welsh said yesterday.

The Professor of Comparative African Government and Law at Cape Town University said few articulate young Africans felt violence could be avoided.

"Defence capabilities of the State are sufficient to cope with any domestic uprising or with a domestic and external uprising combined.

"But if outside forces are given additional muscle by Cuban and Russian support South Africa will be faced with an exceedingly serious security situation."

He repeated the Prime Minister's New Year statement that no Western Power would come to support South Africa.

Unless fundamental changes were made within the next few years, White minorities of southern Africa were doomed "either to extinction as viable collectivities or to a grim and beleagured existence of doubtful durability."

Black consciousness had taken root widely, especially among the young. "It is not so much an ideology, or a programme of action, but a state of mind that utterly rejects the humiliations of racial discrimination.

"A serious aspect of the past year's protest has been a growth of fearlessness among young Blacks.

"They can no longer be intimidated so easily by the massive coercive power of the State and many are not afraid of even violent death.

"There is grim and fatalistic determination not to stomach what their elders put up with," he said.

Ironic view of the S.A. 'whitewash'

Mercury Reporter

SENDING trouble-makers to "political rehabilitation centres" such as Modderbee or the Fort would not cure riot tension in South Africa, Dr. Manas Buthe-

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Audio/visuals

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If so, how much money has been
allowed for:

Riots not effective —professor

1 4/11/77 SW

Own Correspondent

DURBAN — The Soweto riots would make very little difference in bringing about change, Professor Schlemmer, director of the Institute for Social Research at the University of Natal, said here today.

Professor Schlemmer was summing up at a conference of the Institute of Race Relations on "the urgent need for fundamental change in South Africa."

Following the demonstrations and riots, Professor Schlemmer said "there is still a government, rooted in what is a minority, but a large and cohesive minority, fully in control of its administrative and defensive machinery.

MAKE UP

"What it loses in the way of support from Afrikaner intellectuals it can fairly easily make up from the English, white, middle and lower-middle status groups."

One of the tragedies was the resulting polarisation of blacks and whites.

He warned that people should not see a repetition of the riots as a strategy to achieve change.

The riots should rather give people working for a change a sense of urgency to achieve it. This would require a double exertion and an additional quality of urgency on the part of whites.

Professor Schlemmer predicted that there would possibly be "a lull in the course of events and there is a danger that whites will return to the complacency of 1975," but the lull would not remain for long.

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SA Whites 'live in fear'

15/1/79 Rand

Own Correspondent

NEW YORK. — A mood of fear is beginning to grip South African Whites, the Washington Post said yesterday as the week-long series by Pulitzer Prize-winning journalist Jim Hoagland turned to White attitudes.

"You don't organise your life around fear, but we are beginning to get a taste of what life is like in Israel," a businessman is quoted as saying: "You are much more careful."

The article describes gunshops besieged by customers — to pictures of women learning to shoot at a Johannesburg range — and the recent surge in emigration inquiries.

It says English-speaking South Africans have seen their potential "bridge" role smashed by the rising conflict between Afrikaner and Black nationalism.

Mr Colin Eglin, leader of the PRP, told Hoagland: "Since the unrest there has been only Afrikaner power, through the police and African power, through the rioting. But we can be an eventual factor in change."

Hoagland asked the Minister of Justice, Mr Jimmy Kruger, if Black majority rule could be achieved peacefully.

"Whites won't accept it," Mr Kruger is quoted as saying. "They would still control the civil service and the economy and would probably sabotage the whole thing. The country would wind up in ruins.

"All the Black man has to do is accept the Government's separate development policies and doors will be open to him as never before."

Dr Piet Koornhof, asked if his "highly ambiguous" sports policy was deliberate, replied: "We've got to get things done in a smooth way without a lot of fuss.

"A miracle is happening here because we're getting the full cooperation of the non-racialists.

"We are moving away from racial discrimination, but you can't do all these things before breakfast."

Dr Koornhof said that if he had his way he would give as few details of sports policy as possible because "it just draws attention and questions."

RACE RELATIONS . . .

System is for Whites only, says director

Mercury Reporter

BLACK South Africans reject the free enterprise system because in their view it is only for the rich—the Whites—Dr. C. van der Pol, group managing director of Huletts, said last night.

Opening the Institute of Race Relations conference in Durban, he said Blacks would use political freedom to promote a system preoccupied with the distribution — not the creation — of wealth.

"The Marxist system is preoccupied with this," he said.

Black townships are full of people prepared to use violence and revolution to destroy a system in which there appears to be no place for them.

"Blacks in Kwa Mashu and Soweto are right: The free enterprise system is only for the Whites in this country.

"This is not only because Blacks are prevented from voting for the Government they would like, but are prevented from doing things necessary for them to become part of the system."

Dr. van der Pol said too many South Africans were politically dishonest: "We talk like Progressives, vote U.P. and thank the Lord for a strong Nationalist Government.

"We must be prepared to put our money where our mouth is. Employers must accept the principle of equal pay for equal work, employees must accept that a White skin does not entitle them to the cream of the labour market, and shareholders must accept lower profits."

Addressing Afrikaans-speaking Whites specifically, he said 200 years ago America, in the most difficult years of its existence, solved its problems by calling a convention of all interested parties.

"Has the time not come for us to push our political parties to one side and sit as citizens around a table, White, Black and Brown, to create a new sharing system for all?" asked.

Inquiry call by Institute on deaths

Mercury Reporter

THE Institute of Race Relations executive has called for a judicial commission to be appointed to investigate all aspects of the deaths of persons in detention.

Meeting in Durban yesterday, the executive said the Institute "received with shock" the news of the deaths of another two detainees, Dr. N. Ntshuntsha and Mr. L. Ndzanaza, in circumstances "that give rise to grave disquiet."

The Institute said: "It is the duty of the State to protect persons held in its prisons from the danger of illegal treatment — especially when they are held under provisions which effectively put interrogation officers beyond the reach of the law.

"Noting that at least 12 persons held under arbitrary detention have died in custody since the beginning of 1976, we call for the appointment of a judicial commission to investigate all aspects of the deaths."

'HATE' FOR A BRITISH HERITAGE

Mercury Reporter

YOUNG Black men can no longer conceal their hatred and will no longer tolerate their frustration, the Institute of Race Relations was told in Durban last night.

The Reverend E. E. Mahabane said the riots of 1976 could have been avoided had the authorities "taken seriously" the National Conference on Education organised by the institute in July 1952.

Delivering this year's presidential address on the urgent need for fundamental change in South Africa, he said that in spite of having accepted Christianity "Blacks are still denied the rights and privileges enjoyed by the White people."

The Government was still carrying on a policy handed down to them by the British Government 70 years ago, he said.

He quoted Lord Kitchener as saying: "It is not the intention of His Majesty's Government to give such franchise to the 'kaffirs'.

Limited

"Even if it is given after those colonies (the Transvaal and the Free State) are granted representative government, it will be so limited as to secure the just predominance of the White race."

Mr. Mahabane said Rhodesian Premier Mr. Ian Smith was also perpetuating a policy handed down by the British Government.

In 1920 Lord Milner, Colonial Secretary in the British Cabinet, was against giving Rhodesia responsible government because of "the preponderance of the native population over the Europeans."

The Rev. Mahabane called on the Prime Minister to heed the voices advocating a national convention.

Colour splits in church claim

Mercury Reporter

ALL South African churches and denominations practised segregation or discrimination, the Reverend E. E. Mahabane said in Durban last night.

He told the Institute of Race Relations conference the only exception was, perhaps, the Roman Catholic Church.

"But here, too, the hierarchy is almost exclusively White," he said.

"The South African Council of Churches in theory is opposed to the policy of apartheid. In the fifties they tried to meet Prime Minister Dr. D. F. Malan to discuss repressive and discriminatory conditions in South African social life.

"Dr. Malan turned down the request because, among other reasons, the church itself practises discrimination in its organisation."

Mr. Mahabane said this was the weakness of the church in South Africa. All denominations were organised along segregated lines.

"The Black people are losing interest in the church because of this practice."

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Relations -

Race Relations wants prison deaths probed

DURBAN — The Institute of Race Relations executive has called for a judicial commission to investigate deaths in detention.

The executive said here yesterday the Institute received with shock the news of the deaths of another two detainees, Dr N. Ntunstsha and Mr L. Ndzanaga, in circumstances "that give rise to grave disquiet."

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"Noting that at least 12 persons held under arbitrary detention have died in custody since the beginning of 1976, we call for the appointment of a judicial commission to investigate all aspects of these deaths." — DDC.

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Division of opinions on riot cause

Mercury Reporter 15/11/77

MOST White people do not agree with the reasons given by Soweto pupils for the June riots, a survey has shown.

Only upper middle class English - speaking Whites agreed with the pupils' reasons for the riots, Professor Lawrence Schlemmer told the race relations conference yesterday.

He said a recent study showed lower and middle class English and Afrikaans - speaking Whites blamed social pathologies — tsotsi - ism, prostitution, crime and violence — rather than structural things like transport, housing and policing.

The pupils themselves, and the wealthy English-speakers, blamed the structural and material things, Professor Schlemmer, social research director at Natal University, said.

"We cannot afford to see Soweto as a repeatable strategy for change. We must realise the tragedy involved in taking strategic advantage of acts of despair by the youth."

The conference had shown "Black and White people were clearly inspired by what is seen as almost unbelievable acts of courage and determination by young Black people in the townships."

He said: "There is a new awareness of the likelihood of strike action being taken to air grievances. But there is a real danger that Whites will return to the complacency of 1975.

"The transition to majority rule in South Africa is the time when damage can be done to the economy and resentments created and this damage could take years — decades — to repair.

"White people should be made aware of the sort of demands Black people will be making during this transition," he said.

PRAISE FOR PUPILS

Mercury Reporter 15/11/77

SOWETO pupils were yesterday thanked for having the "courage" to make known the need for a "united and equal educational system."

The full council of the Institute of Race Relations resolved to "express its appreciation to Soweto and other pupils for having had the courage to articulate the need for a united and equal educational system."

At the Institute's conference in Durban this week several speakers praised the courage shown by pupils during the June riots.

Pupils, the conference was told, had the most to lose by rioting because they still had their whole lives before them. Yet they were prepared to sacrifice these lives to prove their point.

The Institute's council passed only two resolutions after the week-long conference: that on the pupils and another recommending that the Institute's executive "actively pursue the feasability of calling a national convention themselves, or in conjunction with any other suitable bodies."

Govt urged to repeal an Act

Mercury Reporter 15/11/77

THE GOVERNMENT was yesterday called upon to repeal the Prohibition of Political Interference Act and allow multi-racial political parties.

The Race Relations Institute called for the repeal, saying that all political parties, irrespective of their present racial composition, should have the right to admit those members they want to admit.

The conference requested the authorities to change the law and make it possible for cultural, educational, recreational and transport facilities to be shared on a non-racial basis where local communities and owners so decide.

It also resolved that the Government should "remove legal restrictions on the membership of professional, trade union and social welfare bodies," leaving them free to decide the membership for themselves.

USE TALENT URGES RACE INSTITUTE

Mercury Reporter 15/11/77

PUBLIC and private employers should ensure that non-White school leavers — especially matriculants — can find jobs that utilise their training and talents adequately.

This was resolved by the Institute of Race Relations conference which ended in Durban yesterday.

The conference, on the urgent need for fundamental change in South Africa, also urged that in each province, or region, a single authority be responsible for the education of pupils of all races.

In addition it urged all South African teachers, parents and pupils to concentrate on the improvement of interracial contact and attitudes, and the reduction of race prejudice in education in general and in textbooks in particular.

Apartheid or peace

Sunday Tribune 16/11/77

WHITES MUST CHOOSE, CONFERENCE ON CHANGE TOLD



Savage: Poverty amid affluence



Mahabane: Vorster needs a mandate



Welsh: Many are not afraid

By TONY SPENCER-SMITH

WHITES must choose between apartheid and peace. It is as simple as that, University of Cape Town sociologist Michael Savage said this week.

He was speaking at the conference on the urgent need for change held in Durban by the Institute of Race Relations.

He was just one of an impressisve array of speakers who assessed the costs of apartheid.

Their conclusions — those of the black cleric, the white businessman, the university principal and others — were all the same: apartheid is a millstone around South Africa's neck, from every aspect, social, economic, educational and strategic.

The country cannot afford apartheid.

Mr Savage said elementary arithmetic showed South Africa could not pay for apartheid and its defence, and at the same time have any serious commitment to creating an open, non-discriminatory society.

"The choice white South Africa faces is a clear one: prepare to move on to a war footing and continue to implement apartheid, or dismantle segregation and use South Africa's resources to deal with the human needs of its population for housing, education, food and for all that is involved in a just social system."

Mr Len Abrahamse of Nedbank and Syfrets said that if over the past 30 years there had been natural integration on the economic front, unhampered by attempts to abort development, the gross national product last year could have been R39 800 million instead of the expected R26 700 million, an astronomic loss.

Professor G. R. Bozzoli, principal and vice-chancellor of the University of the Witwatersrand, said the power of the educator could be used to bring about a peaceful future but segregated schools and universities did not permit educators to use their power. They would and did generate hostile, not peaceful, situations.

The Rev E. E. Mahabane said in his presidential address that the black man's dissatisfaction, frustration, bitterness and hatred at not being granted his rights after more than 300 years could no longer be concealed or tolerated, especially by the younger generation. "Enough is enough."

Dr David Welsh, associate professor in comparative African government and law at the University of Cape Town, said the most serious aspect of the past year's protests was the growth of fearlessness among young blacks.

"They can no longer be intimidated so easily by the massive coercive power of the state and many are not afraid of even violent death. There is a grim and fatalistic determination not to stomach what their elders put up with."

Mr Abrahamse said that because of the distortions of race discrimination, the country had an untenable ratio of skilled to unskilled workers.

About 16 percent of the population benefitted from 80 percent of the GNP, while conversely 84 percent of the population had to make do with only 20 percent of the GNP.

And whereas experience had shown in advanced Western Countries that about four percent of the population might be developed to provide the leadership, the ability and the character needed at the top, South Africa had expected 18 percent to 20 percent of the white population to emerge with comparable qualities.

"This is frankly not on. We cannot produce, under today's circumstances, four times as many men with above-average potenial from a protected minority than other comparable nations. This is already posing serious staffing problems in the public service as well as the private sector."

Mr Savage said South African society was characterised by poverty amid affluence.

While recent surveys indicated 63.5 percent of African households had less than R80 a month to live on and 30 percent of the Coloured population lived below the poverty line, huge amounts were being spent on non-essentials.

About R25 million was spent a year on household pets; R100 million was spent in the Transvaal alone on horseracing; R1 200 million on liquor, 40 percent by whites; and R35 million on cosmetics.

For only slightly more than the amount spent on cosmetics and prepared pet food, the African housing backlog in Johannesburg could be eliminated and all Soweto houses could be provided with electricity. The same needs could largely be met with one ninth of the white population's expenditure on liquor.

Annual expenditure on maintaining and operating the pass laws — only a fraction of the total cost of apartheid — could be estimated at nearly R113 million. This did not include the hidden costs.

Professor Bozzoli said those who believed ardently that peaceful change was urgently necessary should see that education with dignity, equality and understanding for all races was the key to both the peace and the change.

But even if black education was made equal in every respect to that offered to whites, while segregation in education remained, black pupils would still be convinced that what they had been given was different and second-rate.

"It stems from the very basic matter of separation — or apartheid — and as long as apartheid is the policy, the resentment will grow and flourish."

A first and vital step would be to remove all racial barriers at undergraduate level in universities.

Mr Mahabane said the fundamental change that was needed was that everyone except that all the races living in South Africa belonged there.

"Once this is accepted, ours will be a peaceful country in which there will be no friction. This is my strong plea for this fundamental change, a change in the thinking and attitudes of the people of South Africa.

"Let us all accept that we all belong to the volk of this country. Ons is almal die mense."

The Prime Minister, Mr Vorster, had indicated he was prepared to admit the need for urgent and basic change but what he needed was a mandate from the people to go ahead.

Mr Mahabane called for a national convention. Priorities for change were the abolition of the pass laws, influx control, job reservation and migratory labour; the repeal of the Land Act of 1913, the Group Areas Act, The Bantu Education Act, The Coloured Education Act and the Separate Universities Act; and the cessation of the forced removal of Africans.

a sociologist, tells the Institute of Race Relations conference of the R112m pass laws bill

what apartheid is costing us

DD 18/1/77

that some 51 163 blacks were prosecuted for infringing the pass laws.

If one estimates the amount of time state officials spend policing these infringements, issuing sommonses, arresting individuals, transporting those arrested, completing documents relevant to arrests and summonses and, if required, appearing in court at the time of prosecutions, at a modestg 35 minutes per arrest or summons, then it would appear that some 298 178 working hours annually are involved in bringing hople to the courts for trial under the intricate pass laws and regulations.

Pricing each man hour spent at R3 per hour would mean that during 1974 a minimum of R894 534 was involved in payment for man-hours in making arrests and issuing summonses regarding infringements of pass laws. Adding to this figure the costs of forms, training of personnel, vehicles and petrol used, buildings involved, and pricing these background costs at a conservative 50c per arrest or summons, a further R255 582 was involved in enforcing thse laws. In all a minimum of R1 150 116 was spent during 1973-1974 on arresting or summonsing blacks suspected of infringing the pass laws.

PATROLLING AND POLICING: It must be taken into account that perhaps for every one arrest for an infringement under the pass laws some estimated 20 checks are made of documents which are legally in order.

Pricing these checks at half the cost of an arrest or summons, some estimated R11 501 160 is spent annually on such checks.

COST OF PROSECUTIONS: If one estimates the direct cost of personnel involved in the judicial process of prosecutions under the pass laws as being R25 an hour (magistrate at R7 an hour, prosecutor at R5 an hour, two court staff at R5 an hour, one clerk at R3 an hour) and further estimates that each of the 51 163 prosecutions during 1973-4 took some seven minutes (with 1 400 prosecutions occurring for every day of the year, including Sundays and holidays) then some R1 490 892 was spent in 1973-74 on pass law prosecutions.

Adding to this an estimated 15 per cent of this total cost, or R223 633 to cover capital costs of buildings [illegible]

R1,54 a day to imprison an individual.

Press reports estimate that one-third of those in prison at any one time are awaiting trial or are convicted to a term in gaol for pass law offences. Consequently some R18 749 312 was expended during 1974-75 on imprisoning those suspected, or convicted of pass law offences.

ISSUING AND UPDATING OF PASS DOCUMENTS: By law every black aged 16 years or older has to be in possession of a reference book (pass).

The 1970 census showed that 44,88 per cent of the black population were below the age of 16; in 1974 the Minister of Statistics estimated the total black population of the Republic as being 17 745 000.

One can thus estimate that 55,12 per cent of the 1974 total population have been issued with reference books, that is some 9 781 044 persons.

Estimating the costs of providing and issuing a reference book, completing the filing, and also the computerisation of the relevant papers associated with it and the payment of the salaries of all officials involved in this process to be R10 per document, then some R97 810 440 has been expended on providing the present SA black population 16 years or older with reference books.

One could further estimate that some 200c a year is spent on all processes involved in updating the contents of, and records associated with, these documents — that is, R19 562 088 is spent annually.

Each year, using the 1970 census figures of 2,53 per cent of the black population being 15 years old, some 348 948 blacks have to be issued with a reference book on becoming 16 years old.

Again estimating the cost of providing each person becoming 16 years of age with a pass at R10, then annually some R4 489 480 is spent on providing passes and updating previously issued ones can be estimated at R24 051 568 per year.

LABOUR CONTRACTS AND LABOUR BUREAUX: Recently, it has been estimated that some 43 per cent of all economically active black men in South Africa are migrant workers, that is, some 1 490 000 men. Further, it is estimated that some 260 000 black women are migrant [illegible] the economy contains [illegible]

Attributing two thirds of this cost to that of administering the pass law, some R12 160 000 is spent annually on operating the labour bureaux systems.

Consequently some R47 160 000 annually is spent on labour bureaux associated with the pass laws.

AID CENTRES: During 1974, 165 555 blacks arrested during influx control laws and regulations under the Bantu (Urban Areas) Act were referred to Aid Centres established by the State.

If one estimates that R1,50 was spent in giving advice and assistance to those arrested and referred to Aid Centres, and a further 50c a case in covering the capital cost of aid centres, then some R331 110 was spent in providing assistance to those arrested.

TRANSIT CAMPS: There exist in certain urban areas "temporary emergency transit hostels, and some houses for those blacks who are endorsed out of towns but who cannot be immediately accommodated in a homeland".

The capital, administrative and running costs of an estimated 10 such camps can be placed at being R50 000 a year each, that is, some R500 000 annually is spent on operating transit camps.

Adding these estimated costs together one arrives at the followng ANNUAL sum:

Arrests and summonses: R1 150 116.

Patrolling and Policing: R11 501 160.

Prosecutions: R1 714 526.

Loss of Production: R7 667 445.

Imprisonment: R18 749 312.

Issuing and updating of passs: R24 051 568.

Labour Contracts and Labour Bureaux: R47 160 000.

Aid Centres: R331 110.

Transit Camps: R500 000.

Giving a total of R112 825 237.

I believe this estimate of costs is a conservative one.

There are many hidden costs that cannot be priced including costs associated with the transport system, the civil service, costs employers face when replacing those workers endorsed out of urban [illegible]

Department of the Interior and to the operating costs of Parliament. And it is one-eleventh of the total defence budget.

If one is to squarely investigate the cost of implementing the policy of apartheid, the costing would also have to include an examination of the following items:

The cost of the job and wage colour bars in the South African economy;

The cost of the migratory labour system;

The price paid for the political institutions created by apartheid — homeland governments, Urban Bantu Councils, the Coloured Persons' Representative Council, the South African Indian Council;

The cost, of implementing the Group Areas Act and of, to date, having removed some 458 595 Coloured and Indian citizens;

The cost of resettling blacks removed from so-called black spots;

The cost of segregated education at school and university level;

The cost of residential segregation, including part of the transport costs faced by blacks resulting from their living in separate areas away from the centre of cities and towns;

The cost of providing separate amenities — in hospitals, on trains and at stations, in prisons, in post offices, in Government departments, in shops, at airports, in factories and so forth;

The cost of population classification measures;

The cost of economic decentralisation and of the creation of jobs in border areas;

The costs of policing and enforcing racially discriminatory legislation, such as sections of the Immorality Act, discriminatory legislation affecting labour organisations, sports and entertainment;

The cost of operating the battery of legislation affecting only blacks which is administered by the Department of Bantu Administration and Development and of Bantu Education.

To this list should be added some part of the Defence budget, for much, if not most, of the continuing threat to South Africa arises precisely because of the abhorrence with which apartheid is viewed.

[illegible]

those arrested to the ... costs of the administration of the Department of Justice, then some R1 714 526 is expended annually in prosecuting persons for alleged offences under the pass laws.

LOSS OF PRODUCTION: If one estimates the loss of production ensuing from prosecutions under the pass laws, by assuming that each of the 511 163 persons prosecuted under these laws lost an average of three days productive work before and during their prosecution and valuing loss of production for each at R5 per day, the nation lost some 12,3 million man hours of work valued at some R7 667 445 during 1973-74 arising from pass law prosecutions.

IMPRISONMENT: During 1974-75 it was estimated that the daily average prison population, sentenced and unsentenced, in the Republic and South West Africa was 100 000 and further that it cost the State

...nt workers.

...apital costs of issuing contract documents and the fees associated with these documents could be estimated at a minimum of R20 a year for each migrant, (including monthly charges). Thus some R35 000 060 is spent annually on the work and fees associated with the issuing, registering and updating contract labour documents.

In addition the Deputy Minister of Bantu Administration and Education has indicated that there were 1 216 labour bureaux in operation as at December 31, 1974.

These labour bureaux, which are intricately involved in the implementation of the pass law system — through endorsing reference books, processing applications to enter urban areas, receiving blacks endorsed out of towns — can be estimated to cost some R15 000 a year each to run.

that permit workers time during the working day to update their pass documents at the relevant offices, and the cost bringing those in prison for pass law infringements into contact with criminals imprisoned for serious offences.

In many countries a full and detailed disclosure of government expenditure conconerning all major areas of State activity is routinely made.

If South African Government statistics disclosed more than global sums allocated to particular activities within State financed departments it would not be necessary to engage in attempts such as this to cost the annual expenditure on implementing a major part of our legislation.

The estimated cost of operating and maintaining the pass laws is more than the combined sum the 1976-77 budget allocated to the Department of Bantu Education, the Department of Labour, the

wholesale price index to control for inflation (for there is no such price index to apply to military spending) there has been a greater than 1 000 per cent real increase in defence spending.

Elementary arithmetic shows that we cannot pay for apartheid and its defence and at the same time have any serious commitment to creating an open, non-discriminatory society.

The choice white South Africa faces is a clear one: prepare to move on to a war footing and continue to implement apartheid, or dismantle segregation and use South Africa's resources to deal with the human needs of its population.

Simple affirmation by whites of a belief in human dignity, or statements by some whites of their dislike of discriminatory practices, have little significance against this background. Whites have to choose between apartheid and peace.

MICHAEL SAVAGE, a Cape Town

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This is

South Africa should squarely investigate the costs of operating its present social system and, more particularly, of implementing its policy of apartheid.

Some indication of the magnitude of these costs can be seen if one selects one part of the apparatus of apartheid, namely, the "Pass Laws", and attempts to cost them.

It is difficult, if not impossible, to do the arithmetic necessary to assess the fiscal costs of maintaining and operating the pass system.

However part of the cost of the "pass laws" — including curfew laws, registration of document laws, regulations governing the entry of foreign blacks into the Republic, regulations contained within the Bantu (Urban Areas) Consolidation Act, Bantu Administration Act, Bantu Labour Act, and previously, some laws concerning Masters and Servants, can be priced as follows:

ARRESTS AND SUMMONSES: The report of the Commissioner of Police for the year ending June 30, 1974, indicated

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BLACK DRIVERS ANGRY OVER DISCRIMINATORY PAY FINE RULES

TROUBLE ON THE BUSES



Mr P. Henry



Mr M. G. Cuthbert

23/11/77

By DICK USHER

BLACK bus drivers in Durban, although having achieved salary parity, still face discrimination in disciplinary matters.

This claim has been made by the secretary of the Durban Indian Municipal Employees Society, Mr P. Henry, who added that if the city refused to compromise, he would be forced to declare a dispute and take the grievances to arbitration.

But Mr M. G. Cuthbert, general manager of the Durban Transport Management Board, disclosed that negotiations are in progress between the Municipal Service Commission and the unions representing workers throughout the corporation to eliminate the discriminatory measures.

Throughout

He said that the "pay fine" measure about which black drivers were complaining would probably be introduced throughout the municipal service.

"I know that the system by which black drivers are disciplined by pay fines, while white drivers are suspended for a certain number of days, is discriminatory, but we are working to eliminate this," said Mr Cuthbert.

"If it goes through we will have one disciplinary system throughout the municipal service — a system which also applies in the provincial service — of pay fines for all."

Total

The claims were by the DIMES on behalf of Indian drivers, but Mr Henry said the discriminatory provisions also applied to African and Coloured drivers employed by the Durban Transport Management Board.

The board employs about 800 black drivers out of a total staff of 925.

The drivers complain that:

- They are often fined a certain number of days' pay after complaints or offences.
- There is no hearing for them or opportunity to challenge the complaints.
- Under similar circumstances white driveres are suspended without pay.
- But black drivers are fined and obliged to work without pay for the number of days covered by the fine.
- They also lose bonuses while the fine is in effect.

Mr Cuthbert, in correspondence with the union, said the pay fine system was used because suspensions "serve only to create an additional burden . . . because another employee has to be paid . . . when the offender is away".

Mr Henry said this was clearly discriminatory, as was the board's method of checking complaints.

"There is no hearing in which evidence against a driver is tested by cross-examination in the driver's presence. The board merely sends out a white inspector to interview the complainant," he said.

"If the statement taken tallies with the letter of complaint, the case is taken to be proved and the driver is disciplined."

Feeling

But in an interview, Mr Cuthbert denied drivers were given no chance to challenge the basis of complaints.

"All drivers are given the opportunity to present their side of the case when a complaint is received.

"We are aware some complaints could be based on racial feeling, and so we are extremely careful to make sure a complaint is justified before we discipline a driver," he said.

Drivers also complained they were fined according to tachometer readings showing them to have exceeded the speed limit.

Two men present when Mr Henry was interviewed said they were expected to drive buses even when the speedometer was faulty or not working and they were then fined if the independent tachometer indicated they had gone over the limit.

Professional

"People have been told they do not need speedometers to judge their speed because they are professional drivers and should know how fast they are going," claimed one.

Mr Cuthbert also denied these claims. "If a driver thinks a speedometer is faulty we take it out and test it, and in any borderline case we are prepared to give the driver the benefit of the doubt," he said.

Drivers are also resisting a departmental instruction for them to help couple up disabled buses to breakdown trucks.

"We fear that in the event of a man being injured while this is being done, he will not be compensated because it might not be regarded as part of his driving duties if it came to compensation," said Mr Henry.

ulti-racial contact, and what you can do

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s the colour bar



purpose of the attendance to partake of refreshments as a customer in a licensed restaurant, refreshment or tea-room or eating house where this ordinarily involves the use of seating accommodation.

The provision of refreshments is therefore permissible if either of the following two conditions applies:

The partaking of refreshments is merely

Coloured or Asian hosts to guests of any of these three groups. However, in terms of Section 94 of the Liquor Act, they may not serve liquor to black guests. The Government has indicated that it intends to amend Section 94 to place black guests in the same position as other racial groups. It is expected that the proposed amending legislation will be placed before Parliament during 1977.

their homes. However, white, Coloured, and Asian people need special permission from the local authority or Bantu Affairs Commissioner concerned to be in a black township.

If white, Coloured or Asian hosts wish to serve liquor to black guests, permission must be obtained from the Department of Justice.

A new Institute of Race Relations pamphlet explains the laws on m

Contact acros

A series of increasingly strict proclamations has been issued by the State President in terms of the Group Areas Act, culminating in Proclamation 228 of 1973. The proclamation prohibits various forms of multi-racial activities. This is a guide to multi-racial activities that are permissible in terms of the law and do not require special permission from the authorities.

In general, it is an offence for anyone to do the following things on land or premises allocated to persons of a racial group other than his own (unless a permit is granted):

Be present for "a substantial period of time". This phrase is not defined in theAct or the Proclamation. It appears that presence for an evening would not be "a substantial period of time", and is therefore permitted. However, presence for a whole day or several consecutive days could be for "a substantial period of time", and therefore prohibited;

Be present for the purpose of attending a place of public entertainment;

Be present for the purpose of partaking of refreshments as a customer in a licensed restaurant, refreshment or tea-room or eating-house where this ordinarily involves seating accommodation;

Be present as a member of, or guest in, any club.

Private entertainments, open only to especially invited persons, may be arranged on a multi-racial basis. This is so even if the entertainment is held in a place normally or frequently used for public entertainment, provided that on the occasion the venue is closed to the public. Conversely, an entertainment which is open to the public may not be held without permission, even if it is held at a private venue (e.g. a private home).

If the entertainment at a "white" venue is to be open to members of the public, a permit is required from the Department of Community Development and (if blacks are to be present) the Department of Bantu Administration and Development — even if no admission charges are to be made.

Bazaars, fetes, cake sales, markets, jumble sales, book sales, etc., may be held without applying for a permit if no sideshows or other forms of entertainment are provided. Subject to the same qualification, so may meetings of a professional body, or meetings designed specifically to further the objects of some cause or some organisation other than a political party.

Meals, parties and social gatherings (e.g. weddings, receptions, at-homes, bar-mitzvahs, christenings) at which members of various racial groups are present, may be held without special permission, wherever they are held, provided they are not public entertainments. In addition, the laws in relation to refreshments must be observed.

Much of what has been said in regard to entertainment applies also sporting events. Multi-racial sporting contests or matches are legal, provided the participants and spectators are specially invited, and that the event is held on private premises, or on a public field reserved for the occasion. A permit would be needed if racially-disqualified persons were to be invited to use the club-house.

The Government has now granted permission for certain public multi-racial sporting contests to be held; without this special permission these contests would be unlawful.

The Prohibition of Political Interference Act, 1968, prohibits a member of one group from addressing a party political meeting where all or a ma-

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jority of the people present are members of another race group. This prohibition, however, applies only to meetings held to further the interests of a political party or of a candidate for public election. With these two exceptions, therefore, it is legal for a member of one race group to address a meeting at which members of other race groups are present, even on broad political (but not party-political) issues.

Subject to what has been said earlier, public halls may be hired for multi-racial gatherings or meetings, if the owners are agreeable.

If a public hall is situated in a Group Area allocated to members of a particular racial group, persons of other racial groups require permits before they can hire it.

At all of these actitivies, refreshments may be served provided that it is not the incidental to the main purpose of the gathering; or

The purpose is to partake of refreshments, but this is not done as a customer in a licensed restaurant, refreshment or tea-room or eating house where the partaking of refreshments ordinarily involves the use of seating accommodation.

It is thus permissible to serve refreshments at a fete, or at the interval of a meeting or private entertainment.

In addition, certain restaurants and hotels have been granted "international" status by the authorities. Once this has been done, members of all racial groups may partake of refreshments there without special permission.

Alcoholic liquor may be served by white,

Until Section 84 of the Liquor Act is amended, the position will remain as follows: An employer is entitled to supply alcoholic liquor to his bona fide black employees, provided they are over 18 years of age, the liquor is for the black's own consumption and is supplied to him free of charge.

A black is permitted to buy alcoholic liquor at a bottle store, and may bring his own liquor to a party and serve himself from his own supply. Presumably, therefore, what is known as a "bottle party", where guests all bring their own supply of liquor and serve themselves from this supply, would not be illegal.

Blacks may serve liquor free to adult persons who are members of their own households or who are bona fide guests in

Hotels and restaurants which have been granted "international" status by the authorities are entitled to serve liquor to people of all racial groups.

White hosts may accommodate Coloured or Asian guests, and vice versa, for a period of not more than 90 days in any calendar year.

Blacks may not be accommodated overnight in premises or on land situated outside a black township, however, unless a permit is obtainable from the local authorities.

If the blacks come from outside the urban area where they are to be temporarily accommodated, they may not remain in this area for more than 72 hours unless the local authority has granted them permission.

Apartheid condemned

DURBAN — A prominent businessman said here yesterday apartheid was not only inhuman, but also a luxury the South Africa could not afford.

Mr Leonard Abrahamse, a director of several companies, was addressing the annual council meeting of the South African Institute of Race Relations on the economic consequences of apartheid.

He said whether judged in terms of racial harmony or restricting the growth of the urban black population and the white economic dependence on black labour, apartheid has failed.

Not only had apartheid failed, "but we have also dissipated 30 years which could have offered a sufficient time-span to evolve a multi-national community without undue shocks to sensitive social and political attitudes.

"We have trodden a long and devious path at enormous direct and indirect cost to the economy."

Bhengu questioned on devolution of power

SIR,—When addressing the Race Relations Institute it was all very well for Dr. S. M. E. Bhengu to criticise one-man-one-vote or the qualified franchise, but it is a pity he did not take a little time to elaborate on how to peacefully devolve power without a qualified franchise for both Black and White.

As far as I understand, there is no accredited political party in South Africa that advocates one-man-one-vote.

Dr. Bhengu referred to White liberals, and so do Government supporters refer to White liberals. What exactly is a White liberal? The reference made by Dr. Bhengu was that the "White liberals have chosen to sacrifice the divine humanness and human rights of poor and uneducated Blacks on the altar of materialistic interests."

The Doctor previously referred to the one-man-one-wife doctrine and I would like to know if poor, uneducated Blacks do not also have a very materialistic interest by having numerous wives, for which labola is paid, and subsequently very large families.

NO RESPONSIBILITY

In spite of the poor and uneducated having no immediate prospect of providing adequately for a large family, this practice continues. To lack responsibility is a most material characteristic.

Any decent and fair thinking individual must agree that equal opportunity is the right of every man, woman and child in order to reach the full potential accorded by a true system.

It seems to me that obligation and responsibility need to be faced by both Blacks and Whites, possibly tempered with a genuine humility.

Dr. Bhengu also told the Race Relations Institute that "Blacks recognise themselves as being capable of fashioning a new political system and ideology which will be truly African and democratic."

IDEOLOGIES

Surely South Africans, particularly the Blacks, have already suffered enough under an ideology calling itself democratic, and if it is the intention to replace one ideology with another one then the Blacks are barking up the wrong tree.

There really is little choice about the matter, for either the civilised democratic idea continues to progress or we retrogress along a line of ideology which matters little whether it be Broederbond ideology, Communism or Black Power.

Dr. Bhengu, as Secretary-general of the Inkatha movement, dismisses the qualified franchise with the comment that it is "a violation of the God-given right that each person should determine how he or she shall be governed."

The God-given right of self-determination, or self-government arises from self-control which applies equally and over which no material circumstance has control, otherwise it would not be God-given.

Without God, God-will or goodwill would be non-existent on earth, but the provision of self-control and self-determination has already been established and it only needs to be practised in order to be kept in perspective. In other words, when God-will is placed first, goodwill

91 Northway,
results.
Durban North.

AUDREY KIDD

N.M 18/1/78

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PEACEFUL CHANGE URGED BY MAHABANE

CAPE TOWN — The road ahead should be one of urgent and peaceful change and one on which the Black population must play a positive part and be given an opportunity to help build South Africa as equals, Dr. E. E. Mahabane, president of the South African Institute of Race Relations, said here yesterday.

If the road ahead meant a perpetual disregard for the rights and feelings of the Black man as the original inhabitant of this country, then South Africans could expect nothing but chaos.

Dr. Mahabane was delivering his presidential address at the institute's 48th annual council meeting here.

The theme of this year's conference is "The Road to a Just Society" and Dr. Mahabane had chosen as the title for his address "The Road Ahead."

Dr. Mahabane said South Africa was the only area in Africa where racial tensions dominated.

"Strangely, it is here that the White and Black have travelled farthest together, and worked closely together for the development of the country to make it what it is today."

He said General Jan Smuts had once warned South Africa that the road of dividedness would ultimately lead to a bloody conflict.

"Fortunately there have always been strong elements among the Black and White population of the country who are still working for better conditions and peaceful co-existence among the different races of the country.

"It is regrettable that fewer Blacks are playing an important part in the work of the institute.

"It seems to me this is just one indication that instead of getting better, relationships between races are deteriorating.

"Since last year's conference we have experienced difficult times — inflation, unemployment, a rising cost of living with escalating prices, all tied in with the wave of unrest which first started on June 16, 1976," he said.

He believed the real grievances of the urban Black was the plea to be recognised as a human being, and to be given a voice in the shaping of the destiny of the country. — (Sapa.)

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The Cape Times, Friday, January 20, 1978

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Racism the worst social sin — Professor Rhoodie

RACISM had become the ultimate social sin and if South Africa's whites persisted in misreading the wider international implications of this, the Republic could soon face grave problems.

That was said by Professor Nic Rhoodie, head of the Department of Sociology at the University of Pretoria at the 1978 South African Institute of Race Relations conference yesterday.

Dr Rhoodie said in the West today the mere protestation of anti-communism was no longer the certificate of respectability it used to be. South Africa's traditional Western friends therefore no longer regarded anti-communism as a trade-off for racism.

He said as long as there were laws such as the Mixed Marriages Act and the "racial"clause of the Immorality Act, whites would have to bare the stigma of being one of the world's most racist communities.

Earlier, Dr Rhoodie said the "Transkei recipe" for resolving conflicts in South Africa had only a minimal chance of success. He suggested that South Africa and most of the various black segments would eventually be associated in a single state structured on federalist and confederate principles. The National Party still had the power to launch radical initiatives to reconstruct South Africa along democratic federalist/confederate lines.

"How much longer they will retain this initiative is impossible to say, but most informed people seem to agree that time is running out fast," Dr Rhoodie said.

Ten years had been lost in the economic development of the black homelands because it was believed at the time that white capital there would inevitably lead to a kind of new colonialism.

For more than a decade party politicians inside and outside Parliament had indulged in transparent verbal sophistry to show there was no colour discrimination in South Africa, only ethnic or communal differentiation, said Dr Rhoodie.

Only recently had men like the Foreign Minister, Mr R F Botha, had the courage to admit candidly that colour discrimination was alive and well in the Republic.

"Thus we lost another 10 years in which much could have been done to help bury a highly dubious historical legacy."

Dr Rhoodie said the federal confederate model he had suggested had no chance of being accepted by black communities while colour remained the main determinant in ordering inter-group relations in society.

He said a wide range of public facilities and services should be opened up, and added that he was not opposed to communal schools, communal residential areas and communal cultural organizations.

Race Relations talks

Blacks want majority rule — Inkatha man

THE CHAIRMAN of the publicity and strategy committee of Inkatha, Mr Gibson Thula, said yesterday that black people in South Africa wanted to share in the central decision-making processes of South Africa, and would not settle for anything less than majority rule.

Addressing the 48th South African Institute of Race Relations conference in Cape Town, Mr Thula said black people did not take seriously government promises of local control by urban blacks or moves away from racial discrimination, and they saw the three-tier Parliament structure as another status quo farce.

"They have heard Mr Vorster loud and clear when he says that when these things happen, they will be within the framework of Pretoria's policy of separate development. Even if these changes occur, they will not make the masses give up working for majority rule," he said.

Mr Thula warned that time in South Africa was at a premium, and the only way in which a process of power-sharing within the framework of a peaceful settlement could be achieved was through a National Convention.

Moves to race mixing 'should be welcomed'

ARGUS 22/3/78

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DURBAN. — For anyone to deny that there had been recent important changes in South Africa was not only churlish but also dishonest, said Dr Gavin Maasdorp, outgoing Natal chairman of the Institute of Race Relations.

In his annual report, Dr Maasdorp said many Government critics had claimed that changes had been merely cosmetic and affected only a minority of blacks.

'The point is taken, but the fact remains that changes have been made and are continuing to be made,' he said.

There may be disagreement over the 'tantalisingly slow pace' of the changes, but any moves which made increased racial mixing possible should be welcomed.

International pressure on South Africa, he said, had had positive results, in that the sports policy has been reshaped, international hotels introduced and more racial mixing was evident.

'Racism still exists, but has become less crude.'

PROMISE

Dr Maasdorp said the recognition of South Africa as a plural society and the devolution of power along federal lines appeared to hold the greatest promise for a new dispensation for the country.

Prerequisites for any new dispensation were, however, that it be decided by representatives of each race group at a national convention and that racial discrimination be abolished.

He suggested a 'constitution movement' transcending party and race boundaries which could work towards a new dispensation through conferences, seminars and other means of influencing public opinion.

The new Natal chairman of the institute is Professor A Mathews of the law faculty of the University of Natal.

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labour?

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to find extra workers?

how long would it take?

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hink the farms around you could simultaneously double

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anted to increase your labour force, how many extra

s could you hire at your current starting wages?

S.A. INSTITUTE OF RACE RELATIONS

13/4/79 — 31/12/81

'Move borders, not people'

By PATRICK LAURENCE
Deputy Political Editor

IT WAS a pity pro-separate development spokesman had taken so long to realise mass removal of people was no answer to South Africa's racial problem, Mr Fred van Wyk, director of the Institute of Race Relations, said yesterday.

Mr Van Wyk was commenting on a speech made to the South Africa Bureau of Racial Affairs (Sabra) youth congress by Sabra's director, Dr Chris Jooste, on large scale removal of people.

Pleading for a redrawing of boundaries between South Africa and its neigbouring states as the only way to provide each people with their own territory and government, Dr Jooste rejected mass removals as impractical today.

Mr Van Wyk said: "It is a pity that the realisation has come after so much shifting of people in the interests of ideology, with so much suffering and building up of accompanying resentment."

On the idea of redrawing boundaries between South Africa and the former protectorates of Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland, Mr Van Wyk said: "We have to be realistic. It is extremely unlikely that independent states will agree to the redrawing of lines for the sake of ideology, particularly for apartheid."

But if the phrase "neigbouring states" included as yet unconsolidated "homelands" a more positive response was warranted.

"One would welcome the proposition of consolidating homelands like KwaZulu through the redrawing of boundaries rather than the shifting of people," Mr Van Wyk said.

Following the January statement by the Prime Minister, Mr P W Botha, that he was prepared to reconsider the land question, a Select Parliamentary Committee was appointed to re-examine the whole question.

CT, 5/5/79

All about ourselves

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THE REPORT on the state of the South African nation, put out annually by the Institute of Race Relations*, as usual tells us more about ourselves than most of us ever suspected there was to know. All the information has been previously published in one form or another — in Parliament, on the remoter pages of the newspapers or in official documents or politicians' speeches. The virtue of the Survey is that it brings it all together, coldly and analytically, with the sums worked out and comparisons provided. Only optimists and committed politicians will find cause for rejoicing or many signs of progress away from institutionalized discrimination.

If the 2,5 million Transkeians, made foreigners by a stroke of the legislative pen, are not counted, there are 24,5 million South Africans. If the Transkeians are included as part of the white man's moral and political burden (in any event half a million of them are officially with us as migrant labourers), 4,4 million whites exercise total political and administrative power over 22,5 million coloured, Asian and African people.

Since 1950 there have been 10 000 convictions for sex across the colour line. The rate dropped off in 1977 when the decision to prosecute was given to the attorney-general instead of to the local prosecutor. Police, justice and prisons cost R400 million. Port Elizabeth, the seventh largest city, has the third highest crime rate. Cape Town has the highest: With 18 percent of the total population it has 24 percent of the crime. Corporal punishment continues to be inflicted and during 1977 90 people were hanged (the previous year it was 69). There was an approximate daily average of 100 000 people in jail for a population of 25 million. In the United Kingdom, with a population of 56 million, there is a daily average of 46 000 and in the United States, with 200 million, it was 220 000. South Africa's prison population is growing more than twice as fast as the population.

Some 35 trials involving 135 people under the security laws have been going on. Those awaiting trial under the Terrorism Act were held for anything between 30 and 363 days before being charged. The ban on public gatherings was extended. About 200 people were restricted and 146 banned. The list of political exiles like Donald Woods and Theo Kotze fills a couple of pages. About 216 people were detained, plus another 99 in the homelands; 64 were students. Ten people died in detention. Salaries and allowances for the censorship apparatus came to R233 000. Of the whites on the censorship committees, 179 were Afrikaans-speaking and 78 English-speaking.

The vastly complicated business of issuing licences and permits for blacks to go to hotels, drink in bars and attend entertainments is exhaustively analysed without leaving the casual reader much the wiser. It seems that only Africans with international passports can drink in men's bars in appropriate hotels; they cannot dance and can swim only if resident. Key posts like maitre d'hotel and chief chef must be white. Pretoria has a place to itself. In that metropolis of contemporary enlightenment blacks are kept out of the Breytenbach theatre, cannot go into the libraries, and the Pretoria bar council voted 50-40 to refuse admission to black advocates. The opening and refusal of municipal entertainment and other facilities around the country are baffling.

The enforced removal of people in terms of the group areas laws continued with unabated enthusiasm. Since the scheme started, 1 927 white families have been forced to move. This compares with 68 872 coloured and 33 737 Indian families. Education is, as usual, closely analysed. It seems that the state spends R654 on the education of each white child. This compares with the R157 spent on a coloured child, the R219 spent on an Indian child and the R48,55 spent on an African child in the common area.

*** Survey of Race Relations in South Africa, 1978** (South African Institute of Race Relations).

The Star
Wednesday July 4 1979

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The priorities for white survival

CELEBRATING half a century of dedicated work in a difficult field, the Institute of Race Relations has brought together numbers of authorities from South Africa and abroad to talk on the theme "Towards racial justice." Their approaches differ, as do their degrees of optimism for the future. But if one common thread runs through their message, it concerns the critical state of our inter-group relations today and the need for profound change in order to prevent their becoming any more dangerous.

Predictable stuff? Perhaps . . . and yet it is sobering to hear from someone like Mr Harry Oppenheimer, the very personification of capitalism, saying: "We cannot count on black support against communism unless the blacks are free to share fully in the benefits of the private enterprise system." And that many blacks disagree with the methods of terrorists but sympathise with their aims.

Instructive to hear from Mr Mark Bonham Carter, former chairman of Britain's race relations board, on the need for legislation to outlaw racial discrimination and for "affirmative action" programmes to make up for past discrimination. "Race relations, if left to themselves, deteriorate. . . . Attitudes harden, stereotypes develop, jobs become defined as black or white and ghettoes become established."

Mr Bonham Carter, like others, recognises that the black-minority situation in Britain or the US makes for easier solutions than in South Africa, where white prejudice is reinforced by fear of being "swamped" by a five-to-one black majority. That is why someone like Mr Alan Paton (see this page today) comes down in favour of universal suffrage in a federal or confederal state: "In our present circumstances the only way to get a unitary state is by internal revolution and external intervention, and at the cost of the destruction of the economy."

This is political realism. At the same time, though, it has little in common with Pretoria's wish-fantasy that homelands offer a real solution. The answer lies in a genuine sharing of power at all levels, accompanied by accelerated moves against discrimination. These are the first priorities to ensure white survival. The initiative lies entirely with the white ruling class.

Institute's half-century

305 3/7/79 Cape Times

THE SOUTH AFRICAN Institute of Race Relations is marking the 50th anniversary of its foundation with a three-day conference in Johannesburg this week. Fifty years ago this month the idea was conceived and the institute brought into existence by a group of committed South Africans, among them Rheinallt Jones, Professor Jabavu, Howard Pim, Edgar Brookes, J G van der Horst, Alfred Hoernlé and Leo Marquard. The object was to set up a non-political body of highly qualified workers whose first and foremost function would be to ascertain the facts of the South African racial situaton, to evaluate and analyse these facts and to communicate to the widest possible public the vital lessons to be learnt from them.

The institute can claim to have met the exacting standards set by its founders. Throughout the half century race relations have been the dominating issue of South African politics, from the first period of massive industrialization that drew poor whites to the towns, to the watershed of the coming into power of Afrikaner Nationalism in 1948, to the present period with its rise of black nationalism. This week's anniversary conference (the institute organizes a conference on a major topical issue each year) illustrates the institute approach. Its theme is Towards Racial Justice. Distinguished visitors like Mr Mark Bonham Carter, the vice-chairman of the BBC, Dr Conor Cruise O'Brien, the editor-in-chief of the Observer, Professor D J Elazar of the Bar-llau University, Israel, and Professor Don Baker of the Long Island University give the keynote addresses on subjects like Towards the Resolution of Racial Conflict, International Pressure, The Political Structure and Planning Multiracial Democracy. Eminent South Africans, from all political and racial backgrounds, present other aspects of the main theme and take part in the debates and concurrent workshops.

This highlight illustrates the approach but is only a small part of the institute's routine activities. These include a research department that produces authoritative papers on important aspects of the race situation; carefully-considered and objective public statements on current events; committees of experts who analyse parliamentary bills, commission reports and the like; the provision of bursaries and other educational aids; help and encouragement to enable people from the different race groups to meet and know each other ... A major contribution to South African enlightenment and sanity is the annual Survey of Race Relations, a massive handbook of factual information on every conceivable aspect of our racial situation.

The public, on whatever side of the racial and political fence, will wish the institute well, in the knowledge that a major contribution has been and is being made in a field that will determine whether civilization is to survive in this subcontinent.

ot seat of SA race relations

Affairs Department and lat- its administrative manager.

n 1968 John Rees reached crossroads of his life.

Though he wasn't fully aware it at the time, this was the ginning of a period of dra- tic change for him.

And it started with his pointment as South African egate to the World Council Churches conference in Upp- a in Sweden.

On his return he was made a mber of the executive of the uth African Council of urches.

By now his knowledge and perience of ecumenical mat- rs had come to the attention church leaders in this coun- . As a church layman he was a rarity, for he was specialising in Christianity in its universal context.

In 1970, Bishop (now Archbishop) Bill Burnett resigned as general secretary of the SA Council of Churches.

John Rees applied for the job. Most of the applicants were distinguished men of the cloth. The layman won the day, a unique achievement. And he was only 33.

Rees took office in October 1970.

His was a fairly stressful period as chief executive of the SACC. He recalls three raids by the Security Police who seized documents from his Braamfontein offices.

In 1973, with 10 other South African churchmen — six of them blacks — John Rees attended a meeting of the central committee of the World Council of Churches in Geneva.

Representing about 9-million South African Christians of all races, Rees and the other SA delegates challenged the explosive issue of WCC grants to organisations that support terrorism in Southern Africa.

His argument, basically, was that the SACC was opposed to all forms of violence — that of the terrorist who tortures or kills innocent civilians and that of the South African Government whose racist legislation leads to hardship, and death in some instances, making the Government guilty of institutionalised violence.

He said at the time: "I believe that when you support an organisation one of whose aims is violence, you are supporting violence. That goes for governments as well as terrorist organisations."

On Thursday John Rees sits for the first time in his latest hot seat, when he takes over direction of the SA Institute of Race Relations from the ageing and ailing Dr Fred van Wyk, a dedicated man who has left his sense of racial justice firmly stamped on the organisation.

A year or so before the end of his reign, Fred van Wyk was known to be concerned about the imbalance of support of the Institute.

What he lacked, he conceded, was support from blacks and Afrikaners. As John Rees sees it, these must be his top priorities — to persuade blacks and Afrikaners that the Institute of Race Relations needs them, to the benefit of South Africa's multiracial future.

Basically, Rees has one measure for deciding whether an aspect of life is good or bad. He poses the question: Is it Christian?

"I have a very open approach to Christian action," he says. "For instance, I did not see my involvement with the Asingen Relief Fund, or the care of political prisoners' relatives, as either radically or conservative but as the only response a Christian could make."

John Rees serves on 30 committees and is involved with social welfare projects. All of which means he is not with his wife Dulcie and daughters Joy and Lynn as much as he would like to be.

What about his one and only hobby — music boxes?

"They keep me sane," grins Rees, though you feel he isn't joking.

John Rees: man in the l

By BOB HITCHCOCK
Race Relations Correspondent

SUDDENLY, at 42, this man whose hobby is collecting music boxes finds himself in the hot seat of what could become the most relevant organisation in the country — the South African Institute of Race Relations.

Not that John Charles Rees of Kensington, Johannesburg, is new to the hot seat syndrome.

He occupied one for over seven years as general secretary of the controversial South African Council of Churches. He was the youngest man ever appointed to the post.

Rees — one-time member of the now defunct United Party — looks more like a former Springbok turned business executive than a professional do-gooder.

He is a burly six-footer and the shoulders are broad, but desk work has taken its toll around the waist and midriff.

The brown hair is short back and sides and slicked down. The suit with the faint check looks expensive but lacks style. The tie is conservative.

Rees joined the Non-European Affairs Department of the Johannesburg City Council as a messenger straight from Jeppe High in 1959 after matriculating.

He says: "When I left school and joined the department I was a typical white South African. I accepted the position of the blacks — and of the whites. I didn't question the inequalities."

What changed him?

After graduating from messenger boy to records clerk he was sent to work in the black townships.

"I wasn't there long before I realised something was seriously wrong in this country."

The young Rees, a dedicated churchgoer, got a lot of satisfaction from his work among urban blacks, despite the frustrations of the system under which he was forced to operate.

He says of those days: "I wanted to serve the people and that is what I eventually was able to do in that job. I consider it a great privilege to have been able to work in Soweto."

For five years he was superintendent of Jabavu, a sub-economic township.

"In those days," he recalls, "I got to know several prominent blacks, among them Nelson Mandela and Robert Sobukwe."

The Non-European Affairs Department was a hard school for the increasingly sensitive John Rees.

People who knew him in those days say he was happy in his job but deeply affected by some of his experiences in the townships, and by the black man's plight in particular.

All the while he was playing an increasingly active role in church affairs.

This he did through his denominational affiliation, the Methodists. He was showing a pronounced interest in the wider ecumenical field.

Professionally, Rees' forte for administration and organisation was acknowledged with his appointment as administrative officer of the Non-Europe-

desires. The 1944 Gluckman Commission into the National Health Services (UG 30/44) reported that 47,6% of white schoolboys in the Cape and 43,6% malnourished and that 31,5% of white schoolboys in the Orange Free State were malnourished. Subsequent to these findings, national resources were then devoted to combating not merely the physical whole complex web of causes behind it. nutrition was merely one part of the wider ite problem' - and that it was necessary to eating employment opportunities, by easing rom the rural areas into the towns, by cal participation and by generally improv- this community if one was to eliminate, ion amongst white schoolchildren. rchased for this group not by buying more y instituting a coordinated response to us programme of community development in d only one part. Implicitly, thus, the t white schoolchildren involved the health care system should be separated e an important effect on malnutrition.

urchase higher health levels for the black close the gap between black and white do this, it would have to act on the terminants of health and illness are Social policies in South Africa which which have excluded the bulk of the popu- participation, which disrupt communities widescale poverty, malnutrition and a pportunities in rural areas cannot be con- If medicine is to be effective, it must pro- ate wages, promote educational and employment ure and more effective participation by processes. As Montemayor has put it:

ustice is not reduced, no amount work can stem the ever-increasing no amount of drugs or antibiotics three square meals a day, and the ng three square meals a day is a 974:24).

Confrontation ahead, says new Institute chief

By PATRICK LAURENCE

CONFRONTATION is likely in the 1980s but hopefully it would be "creative confrontation" leading to reconciliation, Mr John Rees, newly-appointed director of the Institute of Race Relations, said yesterday.

Speaking on "Race Relations in the 1980s," Mr Rees characterised the prevailing mood as one of paradoxes, and identified five key areas in which there would have to be real change rather than "face saving" adjustments.

The paradoxes included contradictions between reformist speeches and massive removals, reprieves for Crossroads and Alexandra and retention of laws to demolish them, and moratoriums for unlawfully employed black workers and implementation of "harsh laws" restricting employment of the unemployed.

The areas in which there would have to be change were the constitutional framework, the legal system, the distribution of land and availability of housing, the educational order, and the economic structure.

In the constitutional sphere there was already debate on the relative merits of Swiss cantonism, Westminister democracy and some form of federalism. None of these models would fit South Africa's circumstances perfectly and "an immense amount of creative thinking will have to be done," Mr Rees said.

In the legal sphere the problem was that the idea of the Rule of Law had been undermined in the minds of a large section of the population who saw the law as a "tool which was used against them".

But a "residue of respect" for the law remained and the challenge of salvaging and expanding it presented an "ideal opportunity for the institute and similar organisations to apply their minds to". A fundamental requirment was to eliminate race discrimination — "and the pass laws surely must be one of the first areas to which all should give their attention".

On land and housing, Mr Rees referred to the maldistribution of land between white and black and the backlog of housing for blacks.

On education, Mr Rees called for immediate abolition of the system of separate educational departments for the different races and a firm commitment to free and compulsory education for black children. "Disparity and inequity must burn in hearts and minds of the people," he said.

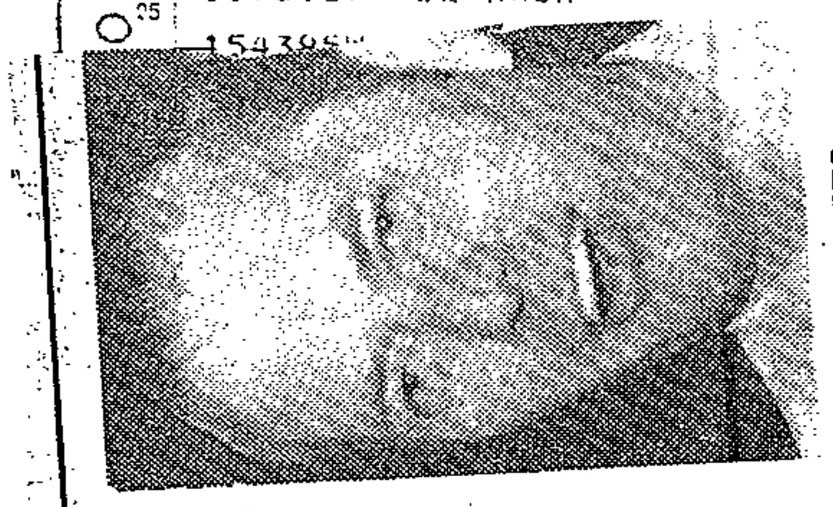
Turning to the economic system, Mr Rees tounched on the debate in the black community over capitalism and alternative forms of socialism. "I am afraid the record of capitalism in this country is not a good one (from the black perspective). There have been ghastly rip-offs."

POLITICAL comment in this issue by Allister Sparks, Benjamin Pogrund, John Ryan, Chris Day; newsbills by Peter Bunkell; headlines and sub-editing by Paul Holroyd; cartoons by Bob Connolly; all of 171 Main Street, Johannesburg.

STU13-9 EXAMINATION RESULTS IN FACULTY ARTS AS AT 29 02 80 PAGE 1

15016 B.A./LL.B. YEAR : 1 15016

STUD NO	SURNAME	FIRST NAMES	COURSE	DESCRIPTION	SYMBOL			
154230R	ARR	HANS-ERIK	105105	LATIN ELEMENTARY			1	154230R
157795R	BARRETT	MICHAEL CONRAN	117101	POLITICAL SCIENCE I	UP	(59)	1	157795R
1535620	BUCHINSKY	GLENN BRUCE	102101	AFRIKAANS	UP	(50)	1	1535620
156581X	COHEN	PETER DAVID	117101	POLITICAL SCIENCE I	UP	(57)	1	156581X
155002F	COOPOO	INDRAN	105105	LATIN ELEMENTARY	ABS		1	155002F
157855G	DE KOCK	RODNEY JAMES	105105	LATIN ELEMENTARY	UP	(56)	1	157855G
154395N		NADINE	117101	POLITICAL SCIENCE I	UP	(59)	1	154395N
		MICHAEL ALEX	102101	AFRIKAANS	F		1	155823Y
		DEREEK	117101	POLITICAL SCIENCE I	UP	(56)	1	1501966
		STEPHEN MICHAEL	105104	LATIN I	F	(31)	1	158314F
		JUSTIN FRANK	105105	LATIN ELEMENTARY	UP	(50)	1	156503L
		ROGER EZRA PAUL	107101	ENGLISH I (PRE-1980)	2-	(64)	1	038176N
		ROBIN ARTHUR JUSTIN	105105	LATIN ELEMENTARY	ABS		1	115449N
		DIANA LOUISE STUART	117101	POLITICAL SCIENCE I	UP	(55)	1	159727R
			117101	POLITICAL SCIENCE I	F	(47)	7	162529M
			105105	LATIN ELEMENTARY	ABS		1	161080M
			105105	LATIN ELEMENTARY	UP	(51)	1	157638M
			105105	LATIN ELEMENTARY	ABS		1	155155X
			102101	AFRIKAANS	F		1	156583Z
			102101	AFRIKAANS	UP	(50)	1	153752X
			503202	ROMAN LAW & JURISPRUDENCE	IF	(49)	1	158337F
			105104	LATIN I	F	(34)	1	154745B
			102101	AFRIKAANS	UP	(50)	1	156056B
			105104	LATIN I	UP	(50)	1	154272M
			105104	LATIN I	UP	(50)	1	154933F



MR REES

Rees: Face the 80s together

EAST LONDON — The South African Institute of Race Relations has embarked on a new pattern which will help people stand together and face the 80s.

This was the message from the Institute's national director, Mr John Rees, who spoke at a social braai here last night.

"What we have to do is to foster relationships between the different race groups," Mr Rees said.

"It is time to move away from the old style of doing things for people — we must start doing things with people."

He said there was something lacking in the Institute's work, possibly due to some of the older members' tendency to act as philanthropists.

"We must move away from this old style of whites working as leaders, and set the pattern for the future. We will have to stand together and face the 80s."

As part of the new plan, he said, the Institute had introduced new educational aids for blacks.

One of the projects, an "early learning scheme", involved assisting black children whose parents were often away from home and therefore neglected certain aspects of their upbringing.

The Institute had also implemented a domestic workers project, which affected 300 000 domestic workers at 300 "centres of concern."

A youth programme to assist blacks through career guidance, and a job placement centre were two other projects.

Mr Rees met Chief Lennox Sebe yesterday morning and also attended a luncheon businessmen's attended by the mayor Mr Donald Card. — DDR

UCT

Insurance: Pooling Risks

Because of risks of losses of wealth from physical damage (such as from fire or flood or theft), people often insure. They *share* losses by spreading them over the group that bears the losses in the form of sure, regular, small fees, called the insurance premium. These accumulated premiums are supposed to be large enough to pay sufferers of any insured, actual losses. In general, insurance trades each person's small chance of a large loss for the certainty of a small loss—the insurance premium.

Insurance also may induce people to change the probability of the contingent event. Each insured person is often required to take special precautions as a condition of getting insurance. Otherwise, precautionary incentives might be reduced with insurance; for without insurance, we may devote more resources and care and anxiety to protection than with it. So insurance may either decrease or increase total social accidental losses. Yet even if total losses are greater with insurance than without (as they may well be), the avoidance of precautionary resource-use and the reduction of anxiety may exceed the increase in accident losses.

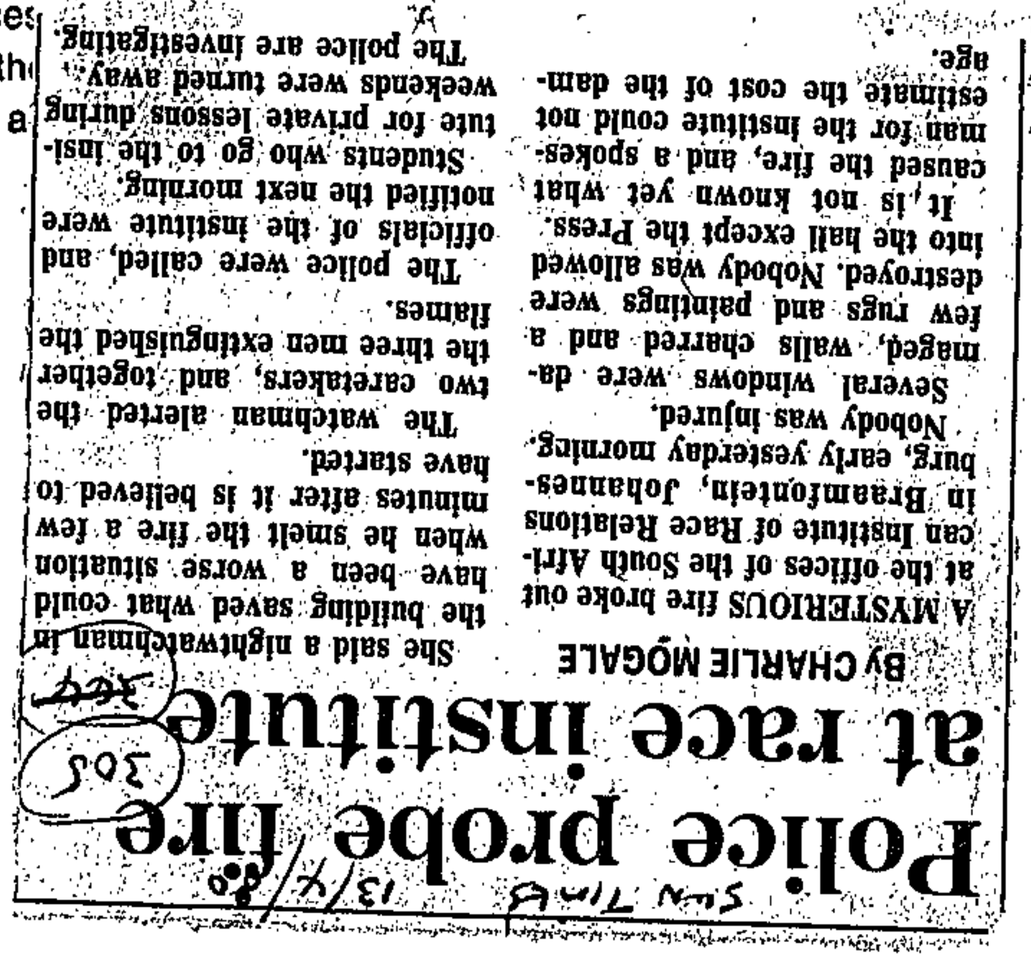
Some accidental losses are not insurable because they are not accidental enough. Insurance against bad business c[illegible] ...ers would entice a retailer to be [illegible] ing on the insurance t[illegible] creased shirking. He c[illegible] "influence the chances [illegible] hazard diminishes th[illegible] Claims for indemnity a[illegible]

the insurance premiums an insurance company could get from voluntary insurees.

Risk Allocation by Ownership Allocation

Though many hazards are not formally insurable, other methods are used to escape the risks. You can't buy insurance against your oilwell going dry, or *not* finding gold on your land, or having other people's tastes and demands shift away from your services, or divorce, or dull children, or marital infidelity. You can't *buy insurance* against these risks, yet you can *insure* for some of these events. For example, the risk of an oilwell's unexpectedly drying up can be transferred to someone else. Just sell the well to him. You will get the present value of that oil that other people *expect* is there. If the oil well does dry up, the buyer bears the loss, not you; if it lasts longer he gets the profit.

By choosing not to own certain goods, you avoid the hazards of changing values (profits and losses) of those goods. With a private-property system, risks can be transferred to the most willing, optimistic people—the new owners. People can exchange ownership entitlements to goods and the risks to bear on them on a selective, discretionary, personally preferred basis. By renting [illegible] ad of owning one, you avoid [illegible] our wealth depend on the [illegible] al of that house. By renting [illegible] n select his ownership of [illegible] g more independently of his [illegible]



Police probe fire at race institute

By CHARLIE MOGALE

A MYSTERIOUS fire broke out at the offices of the South African Institute of Race Relations in Braamfontein, Johannesburg, early yesterday morning.

Nobody was injured.

Several windows were damaged, walls charred and a few rugs and paintings were destroyed. Nobody was allowed into the hall except the Press.

It is not known yet what caused the fire, and a spokesman for the institute could not estimate the cost of the damage.

The police are investigating.

Students who go to the institute for private lessons during weekends were turned away.

The police were called, and officials of the institute were notified the next morning.

Three fire engines and a crew of 30 fought the flames.

The watchman alerted the two caretakers, and together the three men extinguished the flames.

She said a nightwatchman in the building saved what could have been a worse situation when he smelt the fire a few minutes after it is believed to have started.

'SA can not win guerrilla war'

BY ARNOLD GEYER

WHITES should welcome the liberation of the country's black population as it would equally liberate them from the fear pervading South African society.

This is the view of a South African Institute of Race Relations report.

"Once people are recognised and treated as people on an equal basis by other people, any reason for fear disappears," it said.

This emerged in the publication "Zimbabwe is Born", released this week.

Noting that South Africa, like pre-independence Zimbabwe, was characterised by a political system which discriminated against the majority on the basis of skin colour, and that this majority was opposing the system, the report concluded that:

- South Africa was to encounter increasing international pressure against it in the form of economic sanctions.
- Any attempt to impose a pliant leadership on black South Africans was doomed to fail as people had to choose their own leaders.
- If those in authority were not prepared to conduct a dialogue to meaningful change, popular frustration would rise and people would resort to an armed resistance movement.
- People who felt oppressed would identify with anyone fighting their oppressors — whites saw the Silverton bank siege guerrillas as "terrorists", but blacks regarded them as "freedom fighters and heroes".
- South Africa would lose an anti-guerrilla military war, as did Rhodesia and the United States in Vietnam.
- Unless racial discrimination was outlawed, South Africa could expect to find itself fighting an escalating guerrilla war;
- White South Africans need not fear an outbreak of black racism should they abandon apartheid, as organisations and parties opposed to the present system wished to establish a non-racial society.
- Any political system established in the newly independent country would come into being as a result of the particular needs of that country and not of what "some individuals" in Moscow, Washington, Peking or London said — the fact that a movement received support from the "communist world" did not make that group either Marxist or "puppets of the communist world".

Meeting in city cancelled

Staff Reporter

THE Institute of Race Relations has cancelled a lunch-time meeting due to be held in Johannesburg today because permission for the meeting was refused by the Chief Magistrate.

Mr Hennie Serfontein was to have addressed the meeting on "South Africa — post Mugabe".

Mrs Ina Perlman, of the institute, applied to the Chief Magistrate for permission to hold the meeting, stating that only people who booked in advance were allowed into the monthly lunch-time meetings.

Mrs Perlman said a woman at the Chief Magistrate's office had telephoned her yesterday and told her that permission for the meeting had been refused.

PM asked for reform timetable

Staff Reporter

THE SA Institute of Race Relations has urged the Prime Minister, Mr P W Botha, to draw up immediately a "timetable of reform" that would give hope to all South Africans.

And the institute called on the Minister of Police, Mr Louis le Grange, to revoke the ban on newsmen entering areas affected by unrest.

In a statement released in Johannesburg yesterday, the institute said it was "appalled" at reports of deaths and injuries in the Western Cape.

"The escalation of violence inevitably leads to over-reaction," it said.

The decision by the police to exclude the Press from areas of unrest had in fact deprived the police of independent witnesses who could refute the inevitable allegations of "unnecessary violence" on their part.

"We appeal urgently to the Minister of Police to withdraw the restriction on Press presence in disturbed areas. And we once more appeal to the Prime Minister, as a matter of national urgency, to announce a time-table of reform that will give hope to all South Africans," the statement said.

'External threat not black worry'

CAPE TOWN — Black South Africans were totally unconcerned about "some external threat" and did not consider the country as it was presently ordered to be defensible, the secretary-general of the South African Council of Churches, Bishop Desmond Tutu, said last night.

Addressing the annual meeting of the Western Cape region of the South African Institute of Race Relations at the University of Cape Town, he said: "They (blacks) are concerned about the present stark reality, which is their oppression as victims of injustice and exploitation under the most vicious system since nazism."

Bishop Tutu said South Africa was one of the most polarised societies in the world.



Bishop Tutu

Whites were trying to teach blacks lessons in patriotism. Blacks were "totally unconcerned about some external threat, even if it be true that the communists are hungry for South Africa."

Bishop Tutu said South Africa could not escape being on the agenda for the liberation of southern Africa.

South Africa faced two options. Political power could remain firmly in the hands of an oligarchy — a white minority outnumbered five to one — or political power could be shared among all the peoples of South Africa.

"Real security will only be found when most South Africans feel and believe that they have a stake in the land of their birth and that they count as human beings."

— Sapa.

INSIDE MAIL

The anti-apartheid ene

RDM 22/1/81 (305)

BEFORE John Rees became the director of the Institute of Race Relations (IRR) just over a year ago, its activities probably caused the Government few sleepless nights.

The institute, then under the directorship of a courageous, but seriously ill man, Dr Fred van Wyk, was regarded by many as a harmless adjunct to opposition groups.

Some even relegated the IRR to the liberal dungheap of those who talk about change but are unable or unwilling to do much about it.

All this has changed now — under Mr Rees' dynamic leadership the institute has come of age in the fight against racism.

At first, Mr Rees gives the impression of a soft-spoken, gentle man. Gentleman he is, and speak softly he does, but there is nothing soft in his feelings about the institute and the plans he has for making it an effective vehicle for combatting the ravages of apartheid.

Under his leadership the institute has emerged as an organisation that is not only prepared to talk about change — but to work hard at bringing it about.

This it does with the confidence of facts and figures elicited by dogged research, national education campaigns and programmes aimed at improving race relations.

Born in Florida, Johannesburg, 44 years ago, John Rees was educated at Jeppe Boy's High. He worked for 15 years in Soweto for the then Non-European Affairs Department as a superintendent and administrative manager.

In 1970 he joined the South African Council of Churches (SACC), and was their general secretary for seven years.

Early in 1978 he went to the United States to study and lecture on non-violence and the application of non-violent techniques.

He lived in the mid-West, in the small Mennonite community of Goshen, near Chicago. The Mennonites are one of the few totally pacifist churches, and during his stay Mr Rees, a devout Christian, gained much insight into pacifist protest.

He is a dedicated family man with two teenage daughters, and his wife, Dulcie, has always supported him in his drive for reconciliation.

Mr Rees' work at the institute is demanding and draining, but he still finds time to do voluntary work for the Methodist Church.

He has been involved with community groups in Soweto in setting up meals on wheels for the elderly. They hope to be able to provide 600 meals a day soon. And for the past 13 years he has assisted in a monthly food parcel scheme for 340 black pensioners.

Mr Rees travelled extensively at home and abroad until he took up the directorship of the institute in November, 1979.

In the philosophy of the institute, he emphatically endorses the firm conviction that non-violence is the only way to bring about a peaceful resolution to the bitter conflicts that plague South Africa.

"The institute has a clear stand on non-violence. We are working in areas where people are hurting. We are endeavouring to change that situation and at the same time do practical things to help people help themselves."

The IRR is a voluntary, multi-racial organisation established *"to encourage, work for and foster peace, goodwill and practical co-operation between the various sections and races in South Africa"*.

When it was founded in May, 1929, the term "race relations" was at best an alien concept — the focus of attention was the "poor white" problem. There was widespread ignorance among whites about the living conditions of blacks.

It was in such a social climate of indifference that the institute was founded.

Today, the institute is still firmly committed to the ideals of its founding fathers — to collect the facts, stimulate awareness, improve inter-group relations and inter-racial

Since the Nationalists came to power in 1948 there has been little kinship between the institute and the Government. Rumour has it the Nationalists started the controversial South African Bureau of Racial Affairs (Sabra) soon after they took over in an attempt to counteract the IRR.

Not surprisingly, there is little contact between the two bodies. Sabra is run by whites, often described as a Broederbond front, and is dedicated to the maintenance of separate development.

The institute's head office is in Braamfontein, Johannesburg, with branches and regional offices in Durban, Maritzburg, Cape Town, Port Elizabeth and East London.

It has about 5 000 members nationwide and is supported financially by its members, companies, foundations, trusts and churches.

About 76% of the institute's central budget comes from within the country, the balance from overseas foundations and churches.

The IRR's work can be broken up into three broad areas:

RESEARCH & PUBLICATIONS

In Johannesburg the institute has a strong multi-racial research team. Its staff has recently been expanded, indicating how seriously the task is taken. Research is vital to the institute's strategy — the presentation of facts to the Government and the public so decisions and planning can be made on the basis of facts, not feelings.

For six months of each year the researchers prepare their *piece de la resistance* — the prestigious Race Relations Survey, published annually. It involves the daily collation of information from 30 newspapers.

The voluminous survey is a definitive reference work used worldwide in universities, embassies, reference libraries and corporations, and has been quoted in the United Nations by sides both for and against South Africa.

The institute's archives are extensive and researchers have now put onto microfilm reports of all cases relating to security, detentions and labour relations.

Allied to the research section is the publications department.

The department produces about six publications a year, as well as the institute's monthly newsletter, Race Relations News. It is presently working on the history of the Port Elizabeth Black Community Organisation (Pebco), and a second series on resettlement.

During the year the department produces occasional papers on controversial subjects, such as strikes and detentions, as the need arises.

One of its most successful recent publications is a booklet, "The African Woman's Handbook on the Law". It deals with pass laws, housing, workers' rights, divorce etc.

EDUCATION

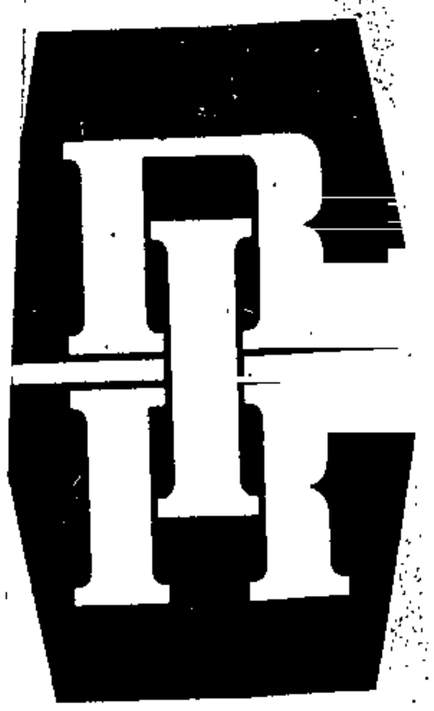
The institute has a flourishing scholarship department coordinating its own and other funds. The IRR offers 1 500 scholarships each year for black students at high schools, colleges and universities in South Africa and abroad, at a cost of just under R500 000. One section is devoted entirely to funds for training black women as medical doctors.

This year the institute will for the first time offer bursaries to Unisa students.

A number of other major scholarship programmes are awaiting approval by donor bodies abroad.

And recently the institute received funds for another 50 scholarships for 1981. Worth about R90 000, the money is being provided by Swiss development aid funds.

The money will also be used for the institute's educational enrichment programme. This is part of the IRR's Education Information Centre, which offers career guidance counselling, aptitude testing and job placements for



Under its new, dynamic director, John Rees, the South African Institute of Race Relations is fast shedding its "all talk, no action" image. MARIKA SBOROS reports

RDM

22/11/81

305

Women, both black and white, feature prominently in the institute's hierarchy, and occupy many senior positions.

While the institute is seen in opposition to the Government, it does not take sides.

"The institute is not a political body," Mr Rees said. "We do not support any political party and constitutionally we cannot become involved in party politics."

This slightly anomalous position lays it open to the criticism of fence sitting, but there is a basic practial reason for this stance:

"We want to be able to speak with integrity to whoever may be in power, or to those who are claiming power," Mr Rees said. "We cannot do this if we are seen to be partisan.

"We have some very strong principles that we stick to rigidly, and we cherish a wide spectrum of support.

With disarming honesty, he conceded that the criticism of paternalism levelled against the institute have a measure of truth in them.

"When you get a group of people in the institute in varying stages of understanding of race relations, it is inevitable that you have transitional stages of paternalism, fear and all sorts of things. But that is not the intent of the institute. People are in need, but it is the manner in which help is given that is important. We don't do things *for* people, we do things *with* people."

At times in its history, the institute has been close to those in power.

"Some of the founding fathers were active in government. When they fell from power the IRR had a different role to play, but it consistently proclaimed the liberal ideals of a unified South Africa in which all races have a say in their own destinies," Mr Rees said.

attended by 1 000 matriculants from all over the country.

By June, the institute hopes to have 400 students in enrichment courses, and by 1982 to have between 150 and 180 university scholarships available to blacks.

PROGRAMMES

Dwep — the Domestic Workers' and Employers' Project — is a thriving part of the programmes department.

Dwep co-ordinates the activities of 30 000 domestic workers in more than 100 clubs and centres throughout the country. Women are taught additional skills and are given the opportunity to meet and talk about problems related to belonging to the most discriminated-against group in South Africa.

The IRR's youth programme in Johannesburg is run by its Open School. The school offers a community arts programme nationwide, which includes tuition in art, drama, pottery, sewing, karate, dance and other recreational activities.

It serves about 1 000 young people throughout the country. In some areas the programmes are non-racial, in others they are for blacks only.

Operation Hunger, another ongoing project, has collected over R110 000, and operates through existing community organisations.

The IRR is also monitoring, on request, the Ford Motor Company's application of the Sullivan Code of employment practice. The institute hopes to provide this as an ongoing service to companies.

Finally, the IRR operates thriving and lucractive African craft shops nationwide, giving much needed outlets for struggling black artists.

All in all an impressive list of activities for an organisation that has been accused of saying much and doing little.

rgy machine



John Rees . . . man at the helm of the Institute of Race Relations.

RAM 22/11/81

505

The real reasons for the SAIRR's 'harmless' tag

RDM 30/1/81 (305)

I WANT to take the strongest exception to one aspect of your article "The anti-apartheid energy machine" (Inside Mail, Jan 22.)

The article began as follows: "Before John Rees became the director of the Institute of Race Relations (IRR) just over a year ago, its activities probably caused the Government few sleepless nights.

"The Institute then under the directorship of a courageous but seriously ill man, Dr Fred van Wyk, was regarded by many as a harmless adjunct to opposition groups. Some even relegated the IRR to the liberal dungheap of those who talk about change but are unable or unwilling to do much about it.

"All this has changed now — under Mr Rees' dynamic leadership the Institute has come of age in the fight against racism ... Under his leadership the institute has emerged as an organisation that is not only prepared to talk about change — but to work hard at bringing it about."

These remarks give a totally wrong picture.

Firstly, whether intended or not, it in fact blames Dr Van Wyk who was seriously ill, for the fact that the institute was a "harmless" body in the past, with an image of "all talk, no action". Anybody who knows anything about Dr Van Wyk's work or the past activities of the Institute, will know that this is false.

Surely he was a soft, well-meaning, old-fashioned liberal believing in peaceful change. He was like so many others in the leadership positions in the SAIRR. Like many others he found himself eventually in the cross-fires of white intransigence and growing black radicalism. And it is correct that his illness in the last few years must have hampered his work and also the activities of the Institute itself.



DR VAN WYK
... 'captive of PFP verkramptes'.

But that does not explain why the Institute was "harmless" or why it adopted a particular "ineffective" line, as seems to be implied.

Because, secondly, Dr Van Wyk was a captive of the influential *verkrampte* PFP elements of the Johannesburg northern suburbs and elsewhere, who dominated and paralysed the executive and the management councils for years. He merely implemented their decisions.

Only Dr Van Wyk's close friends knew about his private agonies as he, together with the blacks, was often at the receiving end of the same humiliating paternalism which had mostly characterised the institute in its approach over the years.

Obviously he was too soft and too much of a gentleman to do anything about it.

If it is true that the "dynamic" Mr Rees has succeeded in making the institute "an effective vehicle for combating the ravages of apartheid", than it simply means that he had succeeded in breaking the grip of the *verkrampte* establishment. And that new and younger blood is now represented on the executive councils. Only time can tell whether this new direction will cause the Government "sleepless nights".

The philosophy of Mr Rees, as spelled out in the interview, of a "non-partisan" research body to improve inter-group race relations, believing in non-violent change, are also the same views as those held by Dr Van Wyk.

And the three main fields of activities of the institute — research and publication; educational programmes for blacks; and domestic workers programmes — have of course been in existence for years under Dr Van Wyk.

The question to be asked, is not how whites view the institute, or changes, but how it is viewed by blacks. This sort of chest-beating excitement about changes and improvements in South Africa is a typical white attitude as is often reflected in present euphoria about so-called policy changes. And it seems that Nationalists and PFP elements both suffer from it.

The majority of politically aware blacks have in recent years been most critical and scathing in their assessment of the institute. As far as I know this is basically still the position.

These remarks are not intended as a criticism of either the institute or of Mr Rees. I have the highest appreciation for the institute as a research organisation. It is the main body in South Africa which can provide correct and unbiased facts on race issues, something which its strongest black and white critics admit. And such a body is of vital importance today.

But the slur on Dr Van Wyk's name — probably unintentional — and the misrepresentation of certain historic facts about the institute cannot remain unanswered. Thus my first letter to a newspaper in 16 years. — **J H P SERFONTEIN, Randburg.**

Table 2: Age and sex of sample

	Infant 1 (1yr)	Child (1-15)	Female adult (15-50)	Female adult (50+)	Male adult (15-50)	Male adult (50+)	Total
Addo	6	3	24	13	2	5	53
Kirkwood	1	1	15	0	1	0	24
Suurberg		3	11	5	2	1	22
Bersheba			7	6		2	15

Addo	7	32‡		1	8	2	4	54
Kirkwood	4		15‡		6	1	1	27
Suurberg	4	12‡				5	1	25
Bersheba	2	4	3⊙ + 6		1	2	1	19
Total	17	50	25		15	10	6	2	125

* Other refers to indigenous practitioner, traditional birth attendant, etc.

‡ Figures underlined show which doctor was the nearest.

⊙ Those respondents who attended the surgery of one Kirkwood doctor at Bersheba on Friday afternoons.

\+ No doubt under-reported.

From Table 3 can be derived the proportion of conditions in which respondent:

. / ...

Had no treatment at all or home treatment	13,6%
Went first to a clinic	12,0%
Went first to the nearest doctor	51,2%
Went first to a doctor elsewhere	16,8%
Went first to a hospital	4,8%
Went first to some other type of practitioner	1,6%
	100,0%

cases	5
Doctor examines properly/better/at all	5
Never been to clinic/attached to one doctor	3
Sister asks if you have been to the doctor	2
Pensioners pay nothing at doctor (Sunland only)	3

It was clear too, although no-one mentioned this, that there was a marked tendency for men to prefer a doctor - perhaps an obvious sex preference coupled with greater esteem for the higher status practitioner. Although women also felt the doctor to be a superior practitioner there was a tendency to prefer the clinic for advice on gynaecological and family planning problems, especially if this is where their first contact with family planning occurred. It is also likely that the overrepresentation of the aged biased the sample in a conservative direction

. / ...

Rees welcomes Nobel nominations

By MANDLA NDLAZI

THE South African Institute of Race Relations "warmly welcomes" the nomination of two "outstanding" South Africans for the Nobel Peace Prize, the director, Mr J C Rees, said yesterday.

The American Friends Service Committee, which is a Quaker group based in Philadelphia, last week nominated Bishop Desmond Tutu, secretary general of the South African Council of Churches for the 1981 Nobel Peace Prize. This week, 33 members of the German Parliament, it was announced, had nominated Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, Chief Minister of KwaZulu, and president of Inkatha for the prize.

In response, Mr Rees said the institute "warmly welcomes the nomination of two outstanding South Africans, namely Bishop Desmond Tutu by the Quakers, and Chief Gatsha Buthelezi by the German parliamentarians.

MOTLANA

"South Africa is a complex society and many persons are endeavouring to strive for peaceful change and the institute also considers Dr Nthato Motlana to be amongst that number."

Asked to comment on Chief Buthelezi's nomination, Dr Motlana, chairman of the Soweto Committee of Ten said: "I prefer to be quiet."

Mr Tom Manthata, executive member of the committee, said he would like to know whether the 13 members of the German Parliament were opposition members, independent members or members of the ruling party. Mr Manthata said: "It would be a blunder to comment without such information."

Domestics body is launched

By Z B MOLEFE

HUNDREDS of cheering black domestic workers saw the launching of the South African Domestic Workers' Association (Sadwa) in Johannesburg yesterday.

Sadwa is a joint project by the South African Institute of Race Relations and the Domestic Workers and Employees Project (Dwep).

The Institute's spacious Rheinallt Jones Memorial Hall could not hold all those who jam-packed it. Others had to follow the proceedings on close-circuit television in the foyer. Mrs Nomathemba Tutu from Dwep was given a standing ovation after she read Sadwa's constitution before it was unanimously adopted.

"We are not prepared to break laws, though many of our people are in prison for not breaking laws," said Mrs Tutu, "but we are forming this organisation so that we can talk to our employers."

Mrs Tutu and Mrs Pusetso Mablane, a community worker who has also been connected to Dwep since its inception in 1972, received a round of applause for "their pioneering work on behalf of domestics."

Some of the aims and objects of Sadwa are: to protect the domestic worker against exploitation, hardship and abuse occasioned by employers, officials and the State; to become the mouthpiece of domestics; negotiate with employers and employers' associations on behalf of the domestics and to form an office for the reception of complaints.



Mrs Nomathemba Tutu (right) with some do mestic workers who packed the South African Institute of Race Relations when the South African Domestic Workers Association was launched in Johannesburg yesterday.

Engine overhauls:
Before R3
per cylinder
GUARANTEED FOR ONE YEAR
1207
For most cars
CHAMPION PLUGS

The argument of Private Hamman, Gouws, De Beer and Koekemoer that they had no option but to obey their officer was to be rejected. The evidence was that discipline was lax because Lt Botha had only 40 days of his national service left.

ed that the men be found guilty on the charges.

The incidents occurred on November 6, near Bloemhof.

In his argument, Mr S A Engel-

their fight for liberation and freedom, should be incapable of appreciating just how blacks felt — that people with such a history and tradition

Call for revision of influx curbs

CT 9/5/81

305

Political Correspondent

THE Institute of Race Relations yesterday called for a complete revision of the principles underlying influx-control measures.

Mrs Daphne Wilson, chairman of the institute's Western Cape region, said in a statement that recent measures to ameliorate the plight of pass-law offenders were totally inadequate.

Noting that 15 860 men and women were arrested in the Peninsula alone last year for pass offences, she said it was impossible to make inhuman laws humane.

She accused the government of doing little more than trying to prevent press exposure through the obvious emotion-charged cases where pass-law victims happened to be women with young children.

"The horrific arresting, fining and imprisoning of people for the 'crime' of seeking work or living with their families, will continue to grind on day by day as it has over many years unless a competely new attitude is adopted by the government," she said.

Big step needed

The Minister of Co-operation and Development, Dr Piet Koornhof, had shown a pragmatic approach to the Crossroads situation when he first took over the department.

"Now he needs to take the next big step, a willingness to revise totally the underlying principles that at present place such appalling restrictions on human lives."

Dr Koornhof's announcement last month of concessions for blacks coming to the Peninsula for medical treatment or to visit relatives was a welcome step in the right direction, but it had obviously not filtered through to administration board officials.

"At any time confiscation of a recommendation by a doctor for a patient to remain in Cape Town, as in the case of Commissioner W Fourie's appropriation of Mrs N Sikundla's medical certificate, earns the strongest protest, but even more so in the light of Dr Koornhof's statement."

Troubled conscience

Mrs Wilson also criticized the three recent proposals announced by the Chief Commissioner for the Western Cape, Mr Timo Bezuidenhout, regarding the jailing of mothers arrested for pass offences.

"While symptomatic of a troubled conscience, they are nevertheless totally inadequate for the whole groundswell situation of pass arrests."

It was a complete evasion of the basic harmful issues:

- Simply to direct women with children to aid centres, who would put them on trains back to the homelands.
- To allow them a chance to contact legal men or philanthropists who at best could do very little other than produce fine money.
- In the event of these women going to prison, to send their children to be "fattened up" at a place of safety.

"In fact all these palliatives have been available to pass offenders for some time," Mrs Wilson said.

Reading room for Guguletu

Staff Reporter

A COMMUNITY reading room was opened at the Roman Catholic Church in Guguletu on Saturday afternoon.

The reading room — called Nompumelelo (victory) — was sponsored by the South African Institute of Race Relations (SAIRR) at the request of the community, according to the Western Cape secretary of the Institute, Mrs Kim Elias.

Mrs Elias said the reading room would be a nucleus of a library and the community could expand it. She added that it has about 700 books on subjects such as philosophy, psychology, languages, drama and poetry. It also has a fiction section.

"The books in the reading room were donated by members of the public and they are in good condition," she said.

The reading room was opened by the former pricnipal of the University of Cape Town, Sir Richard Luyt.

Appendix B

Manufacturing industries - distribution by employment

Industry	Cape	Natal	TvL.	O.F.S.
	%	%	%	%
Basic metal	2,4	7,9	89,7	-
Beverages	43,8	12,8	40,6	2,7
Electrical Machinery	14,9	8,8	75,9	0,5
Clothing	39,0	31,5	28,7	0,8
Chemical Products	21,1	23,3	53,5	2,1
Food	35,6	25,3	35,3	3,8
Furniture	22,3	13,5	62,5	1,7
Leather and Products	52,3	16,1	31,6	-
Machinery	9,2	7,9	80,0	3,0
Metal Products	14,3	11,7	72,3	1,6
Non-metallic Mineral Products	21,7	13,1	61,01	4,2
Paper & Products	26,3	39,2	34,5	-
Printing	37,2	15,1	43,4	4,3
Rubber	32,9	32,7	32,1	2,3
Textiles	40,1	40,3	17,0	2,5
Transport & Equipment	37,6	13,3	47,9	1,2
Wood & Products	26,4	19,2	52,3	2,1

Transvaal is the biggest manufacturing sector in terms of percen- employment : 51,5%.

Source: SALDRU compiled Statistics.

In the Cape Peninsula the following are the major sectors and industries

Manufacturing: The largest employer of labour: employs 28% of labour force. The predominant industries are: Clothing Textile, Food and Beverages.

Services: The second largest employer of labour: 25% of labour force. The services are second only to construction in the employment of Africans in the Peninsula. This is because of the large number of African women employed in this sector: 93% of African women and only 9% of African men are employed in t this sector.

Commerce: Employs 17% of labour force. This is because of the large 'coloured' population in the peninsula.

Construction: 11% of the labour force employed. It is the second most important source of employment for Coloured men. It employs 28% of African men and is then largest source of employment.

Transport: Employs 9% of labour force.

Agriculture: 2,3% of labour force. Over half the workers are coloured and 30% of Africans.

Source: 'The People and Workers of the Cape Peninsula: Asketch. Hendrie D, and Horner D: in South African Labour Bulletin. Vol. 3, No. 2, September 1976.

'Poverty perpetuated by whites'

Star 24/6/81 SALDRU file 305

Mix racially and be rich within 25 years; or try for white and perpetuate poverty for a century.

These were the alternatives South Africans could choose, Dr C E W Simkins, senior research fellow of the SA Labour and Development Research Unit at the University of Cape Town, told the SA Institute of Race Relations annual conference today.

In a paper on the economic implications of African resettlement, Dr Simkins gave detailed tables concerning aspects of population, employment and earnings of blacks in resettlement areas and homelands.

The determination to keep cities closed to all extensive black resettlements has perpetuated the migrant labour system and the result has been a large hard-core poverty problem in black rural areas, he said.

Sketching a scenario of a South Africa without influx control Dr Simkins said squatter camps would surround some cities. But some of the poverty which riddled the homelands would disappear.

"We can be mixed and rich in 25 years — or we can continue to try for white and perpetuate poverty for a century."

INDUSTRY	HOSPITAL FEES	DENTAL FEES	OPTICAL SERVICES	FREE DOCTORS' SERVICES ON A PANEL OF DOCTORS.
Laundry, Cleaning & Dyeing (Cape).	X	Dentures or extractions up to R10 per year.	R10 per year towards spectacles.	Yes
Leather (National I.C.)	At discretion of committee, fund can pay 50% of cost, up to R80,00.	No	No	Except for confinement. Excludes vaccinations and preventative injections.
Millinery (National I.C.)	No	After 52 weeks of Contribution R4,20 towards cost of dentures.	After 52 weeks of Contribution R4,20 towards cost of spectacles.	Clinics as in clothing industry. No anaesthetics, obstetrics, major surgery.
Tobacco Tvl.	No	Extraction of teeth free.	No	Yes
Cotton Textile	No	Extractions: I year membership: Nil. 2nd & 3rd: 25% 4th - 50% 5 yrs + - 100%	Ist year membership- Nil. 2nd: R8 towards specs and R3,50 towards optician's fee. Thereafter: R16,00 specs; R3,50 optician's fee.	Yes
Worsted Textile	At discretion of management committee, an initial fee may be paid by fund.	On recommendation of the committee. 25% of cost of artificial dentures.	Fund may arrange for testing of eyes. Fund pays: 50% of cost of lenses and R5 towards cost of frames.	Excludes obstetrics, surgery.

I9/...

Homeland policy is profitable to capital

By Anthony Duigan

The homeland policy was one of the most complete and profitable systems of labour control in the world, the SA Institute of Race Relations annual conference was told today.

In a survey of the processes and policies directing the relocation of blacks author Gerhard Maré ("African Population Relocation in South Africa") said the maintenance of influx control was the most important mechanism through which labour was controlled and allocated in South Africa.

"It does not matter whether the penalties for contravention fall on employer or employee or whether residence in areas outside the Bantustans is tied to the availability of jobs and accommodation," he said.

"The policy remains the same — one of the most complete systems of control of labour and still one of the most profitable to capital, local or foreign."

Mr Maré argued that the homelands had been used as geographically removed reservoirs from which a stable flow of labour could be controlled by the Government, which used the rationale of "ethnic freedoms" to forcibly resettle hundreds of thousands of people from urban areas.

Quoting from official sources Mr Maré said the homelands had for long been seen as places where those not productively employed should live.

In the 1970s about 304 000 were removed to the homelands.

The effect of this resettlement policy had been to swing the population balance.

In 1960, 40 percent of the black population was in the homelands.

This had increased to 54 percent by last year.

"There is probably no other country where the ruling party claims to its credit in its election manifesto (1981) that it has removed 317 000 of its inhabitants and relocated them in areas set aside for them, far from employment, sometimes without even the most basic of services and facilities," Mr Maré said.

Only one out of the two schemes have been estal contributions are low finances to include de medical treatment by benefits. In three o medicine is borne by on pharmaceutical ber number of visits to according to the dis of the funds make pr Eight funds have opt Both of these are pa from the table that schemes are free me pharmaceutical bene African workers are the Bespoke tailori Minister of Labour workers. In all t represented on the tendency towards m benefit funds, in attempts to provid the Clothing and Confectionery Ind The Baking and Co

0,7% (1959-60) to 0,07% (1970-71). All the medical benefit schemes require percentage in 1974-1975. between thirteen and sixteen weeks of weekly contributions to the fund, before members are eligible for benefits.

Sick pay benefits

Of the twelve industries reviewed here, in which medical benefit schemes exist, all have sick pay benefits as part of their /...

2. Laundry, Cleaning Dyeing industry Industrial Council.

This fund was established about 37 years ago. Workers in this industry are mostly female (about 80% or more.) The wages are low. (Depot workers earn between R18-R20 a week.) The workers are being hard hit during the recession, as a result of a decrease in laundry work as this constitutes a luxury item, which many people eliminate during a recession. Contributions are therefore low and thus benefits cannot be very extensive. Workers however, favour the payment of higher contributions despite the low wages and high unemployment but employers have been against this as they pay an equal contribution. The Laundry, cleaning and Dyeing workers Union is struggling for an increase in contribution rates which will lead to an increase in benefits.

3. Cotton Textile Sick benefit fund.

The cotton textile industry has a predominantly female labour force. About 70% of the workers are female and this is on the increase.
The cotton textile sick benefit fund was established about fifteen years ago as a sick pay and medical benefit fund. The fund started off providing surgeries at some of the factories. This involved very basic medical benefits and although there were provision for dental and optical benefits even at this stage, they were not really operative. When the fund was started, the sick pay was only 50% of the worker's salary.
(See table 9, for present rate).
The fund applies mainly to the country areas such as Wellington, Worcester and Paarl, Tiervlei and Bellville. It excludes Cape Town, as when the Industrial Council in this industry was started about 20 years ago, the most organised areas were the country areas and hence this became the registered area of jurisdiction of the Industrial Council.
When the Cape Town area is better organised, permission to extend the area of jurisdiction will be applied for.
A panel of doctors is the system used by the fund as it feels that if there is too wide a range of doctors there can be little control over possible abuse of benefits. At the large factories, covered by the agreement, there are doctors' surgeries on the factory premises. Initially there was an agreement with the doctors serving the fund, that they would be paid on a per capita basis. However, it was found that this often led to neglect on the part of the doctor, who was hereby assured of a certain income.
The scheme has therefore now changed to payment of doctors on a consultation basis.

Problems have been encountered by the fund. One problem has been some abuse of the fund by doctors and dentists. This has generally occurred in the country... only one doctor or dentist
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ttee level in the decision-making of the fund. Contact with all workers does occur at the factory level, however.
Improvements in benefits, over the years have been centred mainly on improving the benefits of those workers who have the longest membership.

Sabra man attacks integrated system

Star 24/6/81 (385)



To argue for an integrated economy in South Africa would be like preaching economic colonialism and revolution, the director of the SA Bureau of Racial Affairs, Dr C J Jooste, said today.

Speaking at the annual conference of the SA Institute of Race Relations, Dr Jooste vigorously defended the Government's homelands policy and advocated faster development and consolidation of these territories.

"To advance the domination of the economies of the national states by the economy of the Republic of South Africa or the integrated state of these economies as reasons why there should only be a single economy in the sub-continent, is tantamount to preaching economic colonialism and revolution.

"The complementary nature and the interdependence of economies should be used to strengthen the states concerned not to undermine their political and social structures."

Dr Jooste said that land was fundamental to the process of building a state.

"A government can only function effectively if it has jurisdiction over a defined geographical area," he said. "The experiment with the Coloured Representative Council has shown this very clearly."

Consolidation had not been given high priority in the past and it was unlikely there would be any change in the future, Dr Jooste said.

Other points made by Dr Jooste were:

- Just 16 percent of black purchasing power was applied in the homelands.
- Nearly a quarter of the urban black population resided in homeland towns.
- The number of people commuting between homelands and "white areas" had trebled in the early 1970s.

sily

Crusading for justice for all



"Bungling along as the country has been for many years is little better than violent explosion, because the corruption brought about by racial domination may be as great a danger to the future as violence and bloodshed," said Mr de Villiers.

By Anthony Duigan

South Africa needs a moral crusade to set people on the road to a just society — but such a suggestion would be looked at as unrealistic today, Mr Rene de Villiers, president of the SA Institute of Race Relations, said last night.

In an address, he said the political dilemma facing the country could be reduced to the simple equation: what black people wanted, white people feared.

"To resolve this dilemma and save South Africa from the horrors of revolution or race war, calls for a fundamental change in basic individual attitudes, a change of mind and heart on the part of South Africans of all colours," he said.

"That change will probably only come as a result of a deliberate and concerted drive to mobilise public opinion in favour of far-reaching change that will constitute the foundation of a just society."

Before embarking on the search for a society in which political power was shared equitably by all racial groups, whites, as the people wielding the power, had to stop practising political evil while paying lip service to virtue, stop pretending South Africa was a democracy when it was a racial oligarchy.

Quoting Jan Hofmeyr, when he was Chancellor of Wits University 40 years ago, Mr de Villiers said: "It is a mockery to talk of ourselves as free people while we as a nation are to a large extent the slaves of prejudice.

"As long as we continue to apply a dual standard in South Africa to determine our attitude to and relationship with European and non-European on different ethical bases, to assign to Christian doctrine a significance which varies with the colour of man's skin, so long will we suffer from what Plato called the lie in the soul."

"Our goal must be to sweep away the last vestiges of apartheid and in time rid ourselves of the apartheid mentality — a mentality which is found in all sections of the population.

"Nothing less will be acceptable to the dispossessed among us, to the real believers in racial and social justice or to the world outside."

Mr de Villiers said that what such a goal demanded of the whites should not be underestimated — the abandonment of their position of total dominance and privilege and the surrender of their sole decision-making right.

The problem was to get this message across to whites, to persuade them that the alternative to sharing power was bloody confrontation.

"But change of the magnitude we envisage will also call for adaptation and sacrifice on the parts of black and brown people," Mr de Villiers said.

"The first temptation to overcome will be the desire to see everything change overnight. The second will be to exercise power without accepting major responsibility.

"The problem is that while moderate black leadership will probably be prepared to continue exercising restraint and patience, the pressures of youth and other impatient forces will demand change without delay — all or nothing.

Mr de Villiers said there would be no point in substituting black domination for white domination. "There can be no racial justice in a dominated society," he said.

"The time has gone beyond any apportionment of blame for the mess we are in. The future of the total community — blacks and whites — is at stake.

"Perhaps what we need as part of the great moral crusade is a 'reddingsdaad,' literally an act or deed of rescue, such as the Afrikaners embarked upon in their darkest hours. Faith and a belief in themselves, combined with hard work and self-sacrifice, carried the Afrikaners through to ultimate triumph.

"What South Africa desperately needs is a mobilisation of all the forces, individuals and organisations working for meaningful change," he said.

Govt accused of 'people dumping'

By Derrick Thema

The only solution to the resettlement of people in homelands, which are used as dumping grounds, was the eradication of separate department, Dr Oscar Dhlomo, kwaZulu's Minister of Education and Culture, told the annual conference of the South African Institute of Race Relations yesterday.

Dr Dhlomo condemned the homeland policy and said the Government was abusing ethnicity for political reasons, using it as a tool to deny human rights to blacks.

"We are opposed to the homeland policy and the resettlement of people and, although we recognise ethnicity because we cannot apologise for being Zulus or Tswanas, we want a unitary state while cherishing our traditional links," he said.

He claimed that people were dumped on land bought by the South African Development Trust within the proposed boundaries of kwaZulu without consultation with the kwaZulu Government.

"We do not participate in receiving or accepting resettled people in territories under our jurisdiction," Dr Dhlomo said.

The South African Government dumped people in these territories so that when they transferred land to kwaZulu for consolidation, they transferred the resettled people as well.

This was in accordance with the ideology that the greater part of South Africa belonged to whites.

He warned that resettlement was creating a basis for a counter-reaction.

"In the interests of peace and stability, which we all cherish, we call on the South African Government to stop using kwaZulu as a flimsy excuse for its policy of forced mass segregation. This policy is revolutionary in its potential," Dr Dhlomo said.

this week's Institute of Race Relations conference

Resettlement

DHLOMO WARNS OF HOW GOVERNMENT'S POLICY CAN LEAD TO BLOODY REVOLUTION

305

S Tribune 28/6/81

RURAL stability in KwaZulu is being threatened by the resettlement on the homeland's borders of thousands of disorientated, displaced and dispossessed people.

Stressing his government's categoric rejection of population removals, Dr Oscar Dhlomo, Kwazulu's Minister of Education and Culture, and Secretary-General of Inkatha, hinted ominously this week at the potential for violence and revolution in the South African Government's resettlement policy.

In an often strongly-worded address to the South African Institute of Race Relations' 51st annual conference in Johannesburg, Dr Dhlomo spelled out problems posed by the presence of large numbers of families resettled just outside KwaZulu's administrative boundaries.

"People in neighbouring KwaZulu areas are bitter and resentful towards those moving in, as inevitably they will compete for jobs, for land, for places in school, for fuel, for water, and in fact for all the meagre resources that the rural communities have at their disposal.

Influx

"The mass influx of new people has a most disruptive ripple effect on the area as a whole. Violence and crime often characterise the resettlement areas with



Dr Dhlomo
. . . grave warning

let alone additions "due to policies over which Kwazulu has no control."

Repeatedly assuring the conference that his Government was neither consulted nor informed of removals of communities to its borders from all over Natal, he said KwaZulu, for humanitarian reasons, aided these people wherever possible.

A select committee, appointed in 1978 by the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly to investigate living conditions of displaced KwaZulu citizens, had found no meaningful consultation taking place between people being resettled and the relevant authorities.

"The local commissioner, acting on behalf of the Department of Co-operation and Development, simply

white farmer's associations.

"They allegedly drew up a memorandum to the South African Government stating that Roosboom is close to a national road. They pointed out that the road was used by tourists who would be exposed to the poverty-stricken homes of blacks living at Roosboom. They felt this would create a very bad impression and that for this reason Roosboom should be declared a white area."

Jobs

In its report the select committee noted that people were always removed to areas where they would have less land, and no opportunity of being agriculturally productive.

These areas also offered no local permanent job opportunities, nor casual or seasonal employment.

"The resettlement experience is extremely traumatic. It must be borne in mind that the people being resettled are generally uneducated and illiterate. Whatever degree of mastery they have over their environment they have acquired as a result of experience and tradition.

"For these people to be uprooted, bundled on to a truck and driven to a new environment of which they have no experience, for most, if not all, precipitates extreme stress.

"This stress takes its toll on peoples' health and ability to mobilise themselves to cope in their new environment.

"Extreme depression, sometimes even complete mental breakdown and a high incidence of stress-related illnesses are all common features of the health pro-

their livestock which at least ensured a sporadic supply of fresh milk in their children's diet.

"The people do not have the financial resources or the technical know-how to switch to using milk substitutes, besides which sources of water to mix with the milk are often contaminated."

Dr Dhlomo accused the South African Department of Health, who, he said, was responsible for providing health services in these areas, of "unforgivable delays" in providing the necessary facilities.

"The KwaZulu Department of Health and Welfare is never informed about resettlement plans for the areas under Pretoria's jurisdiction. It is the people themselves who begin to make their way to neighbouring KwaZulu clinics and hospitals when they are in need of treatment.

Sick

"We obviously cannot turn sick people away from our facilities just because they are victims of separate development. Our hospitals can barely cope with the health problems in the area under our jurisdiction and having to render services to the victims of resettlement.

"This places a tremendous strain on the health personnel and institutions in the neighbouring KwaZulu areas."

Most of the people being resettled came from areas where casual or seasonal employment was available,

Forced removals upset institute

Star 29/6/81

305

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Population removals are the biggest cause of human suffering in South Africa, says the SA Institute of Race Relations.

"We know of no greater current cause of suffering than relocation," the institute said in a statement issued at the weekend after a conference on removals.

"The institute wishes to express its strongest anxiety at the extent and manner of the relocation taking place and at the human suffering involved.

"Problems of employment, education, health services and community disruption add grievously to the human distress. More than a million people are affected."

The institute said it would work to focus attention on the evils of relocation and to help avoid, or alleviate, the effects of future removals.

The institute recognises that relocation, along with its distress, is largely a symptom of our inadequate political structure and that the answer is best to be found in the sharing of all our peoples in decision-making.

"Unfortunately this is not yet possible, the apartheid ideology still being alive and well," the statement said.

BUILDING

(Continued)

Institute plans more help for relocated blacks

THE South African Institute of Race Relations planned further research and assistance to alleviate the problems associated with the relocation of blacks, the deputy director, Mrs Hazel Moolman, said in an interview.

The focus of the institute's conference held recently was on the resettlement of people, she said. The institute rejected the word "resettlement" in favour of "relocation".

"Resettlement implies taking people to an area where there is an infrastructure. In no case has this been true in regard to the removal of Africans from farms and 'black spots' into homelands. The people have not been resettled in the sense that they have been given an economic alternative.

South Africans needed to be reminded of the number of people who had been affected by the Government's homelands policy. From 1970 to 1979, 19 709 had been moved in the Cape Province, 140 120 in the Transvaal, 42 504 in the Free State, 37 900 in Transkei and 322 in the Ciskei.

Only about 120 000 hectares had been added to the homelands in compensation for the land taken from the people moved.

"The institute wishes to express its strongest anxiety at the extent and manner of the relocation taking place and at the human suffering involved," she said.

The lack of satisfactory consultation with the people being relocated and with the homeland authorities was cause for the most serious concern. So, too, was relocation without consent or adequate compensation.

Problems of employment, education, health services and community disruption added to the human distress.

The institute knew of no greater current cause of human suffering in South Africa than relocation, she said.

FINE ART

Art student (shared)

M D H Wells
A McL Kennedy

David Marais Memorial Prize
For a most promising and worthy first or second year student.

R D Morrison

Michaelis Prize
For best composition.

Mrs M van Niekerk

QUANTITY SURVEYING

Association's Quantities Book Prizes
For the best student obtaining honours standard in Quantities.

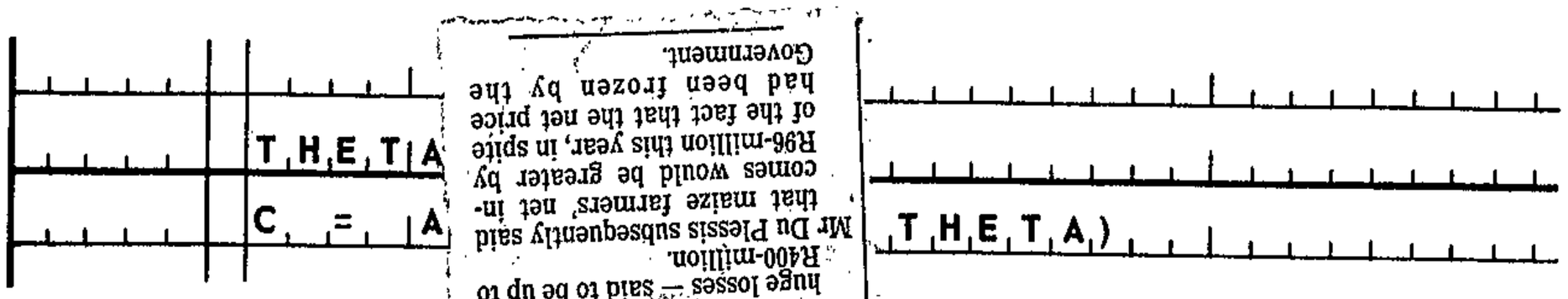
Quantities III

P C Key

Quantities V

Mrs J R Einhorn

A function reference appears as a primary either in an arithmetic or in a logical expression. For each actual argument in the function reference there must be a *dummy argument* in the definition of the function procedure that will be replaced by the value of its actual argument during execution. Some function procedures, namely intrinsic and *basic* external functions, are furnished with the processor and need not be defined by the programmer. Statement functions and function subprograms are written by the programmer. An example of a basic function reference is:



The function reference
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arithmetic assignment
is then returned to the
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expression as Y = ARE
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of PER is used in any
reference cannot redefi
function reference.

ETA is the actual argument that must
ntered. During execution of the
uated and a value for COS(THETA)
hat it can be computed and a value
have at least one actual argument,
rogram is called AREA and computes
is referenced in an arithmetic
n can be expanded to also return a
EA(X,Y,Z,PER), where the value
function reference. A function
same expression containing the

A subroutine call invok
does not necessarily ret
any actual arguments. A
completed, control is ret
unit. For example, if the
procedure can be defined
upon many times in the p
actual argument.

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le statement of the calling program
ad in many times in a program, the
utine subprogram and be called
ARRAY), where ARRAY is the

8.1.1. Statement Functions an

Statement functions and
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nction procedures requiring few
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or example, if the intrinsic
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Approached

Mr Rees said the SAIRR had approached the chairman of the Maize Board after learning from Press reports of "a very large maize surplus".

"We are most anxious to be of assistance to those who in many parts of the country are totally malnourished, and when one reads of such surpluses one would want to provide some alleviation," he added in his letter.

Five months ago it was reported that this year's maize crop had produced a record seven-million-ton surplus and that the Government and the Republic's 30 000 maize farmers were heading for a clash over who should carry the huge losses — said to be up to R400-million.

Mr Du Plessis subsequently said that maize farmers' net incomes would be greater by R96-million this year, in spite of the fact that the net price had been frozen by the Government.

"Maize surplus needed by poor"

Mail Correspondent

THE Minister of Agriculture, Mr P T G du Plessis, has been asked to use South Africa's record maize surplus to aid "Operation Hunger".

The project is organised by the SA Institute of Race Relations, which has asked for a grant, or that the surplus be sold to the institute at a reduced price.

The request was made by Dr Marius Barnard, MP for Parktown and the official Opposition's spokesman on health matters. He said yesterday he had been approached by the SAIRR after a similar appeal it made to the chairman of the Maize Board had been turned down.

In a letter to Dr Barnard the director of the SAIRR, Mr John Rees, said the institute had collected R164 000 in a year for "Operation Hunger", "to alleviate hunger situations around South Africa".

S.A. INSTITUTE OF RACE RELATIONS

FROM

1982; 1983 — 1984 — Sept.

R1-m target for our new bursary fund

Staff Reporter

THE Cape Times today announces the establishment of a major bursary fund to meet the challenges of education in this region.

Called the CAPE TIMES BURSARY FUND, it is launched against the background of an urgent and growing need for skilled manpower in South Africa and the lack of opportunities for higher education among a large section of the population, with consequent squandering of talent.

The announcement was made by Mr Denis Hennessy, chairman of the Cape Times, after a meeting of the trustees of the newly-registered fund — all prominent members of the community.

● See page 15
● See leading article, page 14

● Contributions to the fund should be sent to:

Cape Times Bursary Fund
P O Box 11
CAPE TOWN 8000

Mr Hennessy, chairman of the trustees, said the fund was being launched with an initial capital of more than R300 000 in cash and promises. The aim was to increase this to R1-million, through approaches to businessmen, industrialists and others and appeals to the public.

The money would be invested and the income used to provide study bursaries for promising young people in the Western and South-Western Cape and Midlands who were keen to matriculate or go to university or technikon, but who could not afford to do so.

It was hoped the first bursaries would be awarded for next year.

The fund will have the advantage of the experience and expertise of the South African Institute of Race Relations Educational Trust, which for some years has awarded study bursaries but which has been handicapped through the discontinuance of major financial support from overseas.

List of initial contributions, either in cash or promised over a period of five years.

Abe Bailey Trust	R125 000
F C Robb	25 000
L Shawzin	20 000
D A St C Hennessy	5 000
C S Corder	25 000
Cape Times Ltd	25 000
Board of Executors	25 000
R S Sonnenberg	25 000
L G Abrahamse	5 000
The Fisher Trust (Syfrets Trust)	12 500
Mauerberger Foundation	5 000
Table Mountain Aerial Cableway	5 000
Southern Life	25 000
F Bradlow	5 000
Anonymous	500
T N Chapman	1 500
D R Susman	10 000
Total	R344 500

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Officials:
Address:
Telephone:

Year		White	Total
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	≠	109	109
	≠	110	110
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	✕	105	105
	✕	120	120
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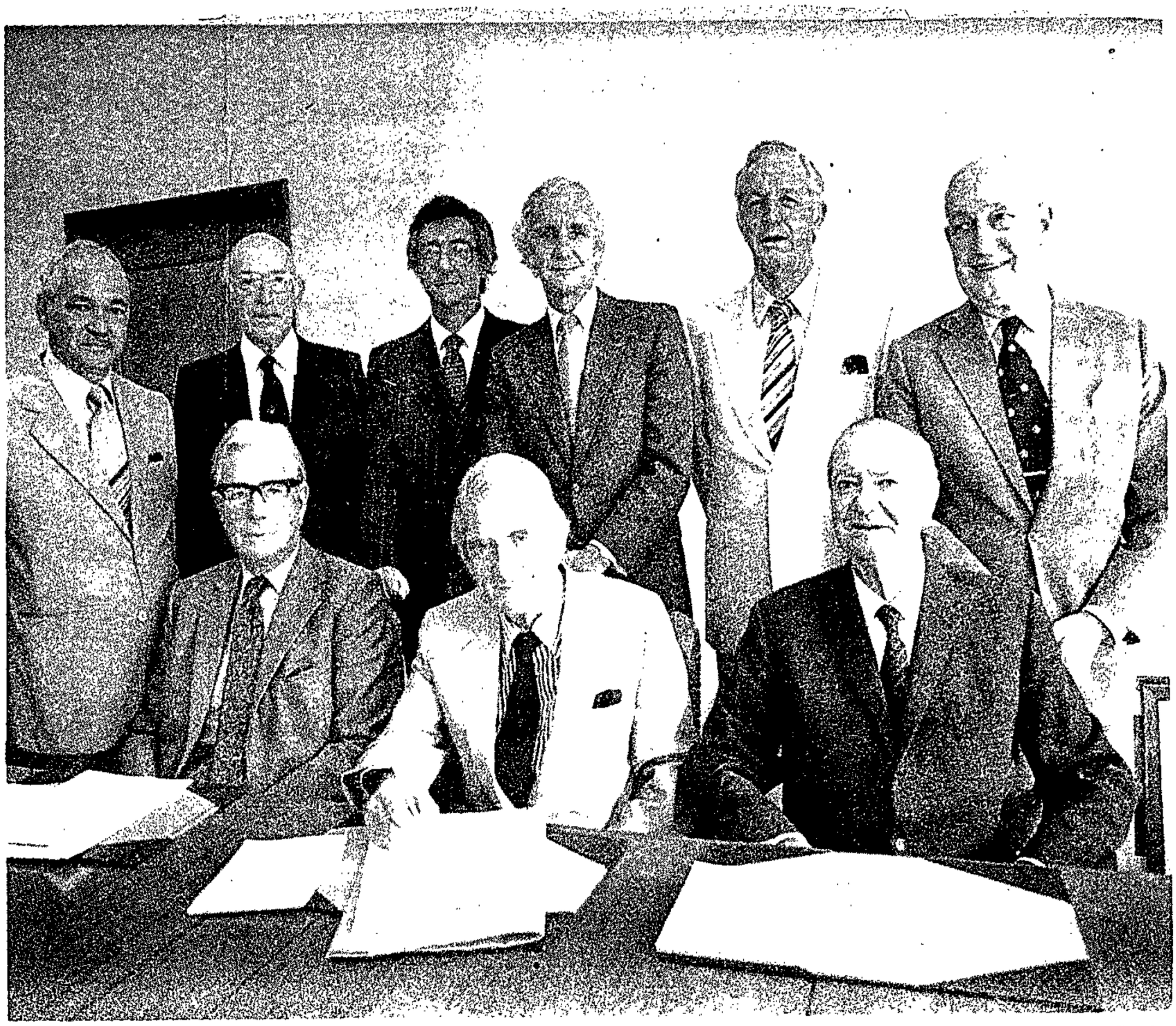
NATIONAL CEMENT EMPLOYEES UNION



Nine of the 10 trustees of the Cape Times Bursary Fund, at a meeting in the Cape Times board-room at which a final decision was taken to launch the project. Seated at centre is the chairman of the Cape Times and of the trustees, Mr Denis Hennessy. He is flanked by Mr Frank Robb, left, and Mr Clive Corder. Those standing are, from left: Dr Richard van der Ross, Mr Frank Bradlow, Mr Neal Chapman, Mr Ken Geeling, Mr Len Abrahamse and Mr Keith Lindsay. The 10th trustee, Mr Leonard Shawzin, whose picture appears on page 15, was away on business at the time the meeting was held.

Cape Times newscolour: Alvin Andrews

Year	Membership			
	African	Asian and Coloured	White	Total
1970				
1971				
1972				
1973				
1974				
1975				
1976				

Chemical & Chemical Products, Coal, Rubber & Plastic Products

Black Allied Workers Union
Cape Explosives Industrial Workers Union
Chemical and Allied Workers Union
Chemical Workers Industrial Union
Chemical Workers Union
Durban Rubber Industrial Union
Engineering and Allied Workers Union
Engineering Industrial Workers Union of S.A.
Federated Mining, Explosives and Chemical Employees Union
Industrial Salaried Staff Association
General Workers Union
Metal and Allied Workers Union
National Union of Engineering, Industrial & Allied Workers
National Union of Motor Assembly & Rubber Workers of South Africa
S.A. Chemical Workers Union
South African Allied Workers Union (SAAWU)
Steel, Engineering and Allied Workers Union
Umbogintwini Industrial Workers Union
Weskaapse Plofstof & Chemiese Operateursvakbond

Non-Metallic Mineral Products

Building, Construction and Allied Workers Union
Glass & Allied Workers Union
Glass Workers Union
National Cement Employees Union
National Union of Brick and Allied Workers
Transport & General Workers Union

Base Metal Industries and Manufacture of Fabricated Metal Products Machinery and Equipment

Amalgamated Engineering Union of South Africa
Amalgamated Society of Woodworkers
Black Allied Workers Union
Electrical and Allied Trade Union of S.A.
Electrical and Allie
Engineering and Alli
Engineering Industri
General Workers Unic
General Workers Unic
Iron Moulders Societ
Metal and Allied Wor
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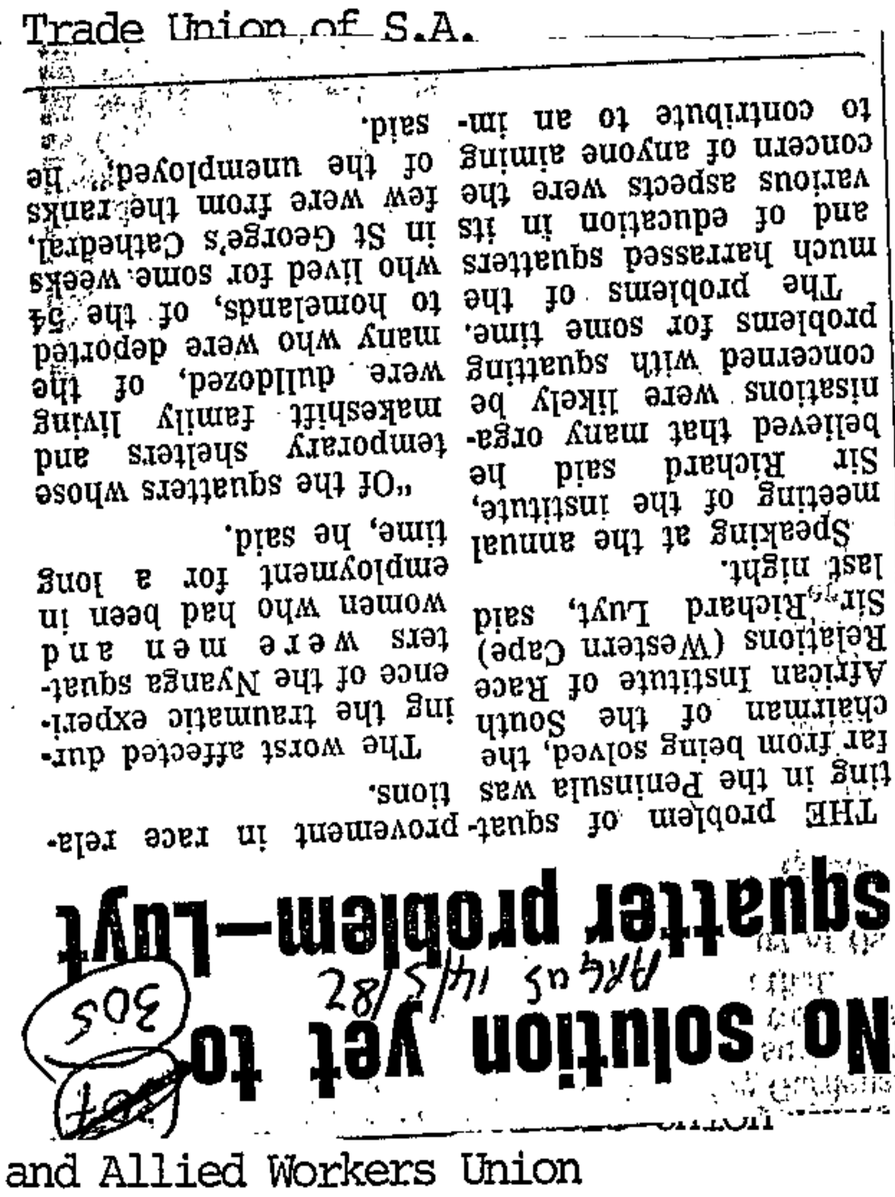

No solution yet to squatter problem—Luyt

THE problem of squatting in the Peninsula was far from being solved, the chairman of the South African Institute of Race Relations (Western Cape) Sir Richard Luyt, said last night.

Speaking at the annual meeting of the institute, Sir Richard said he believed that many organisations were likely be concerned with squatting problems for some time.

The problems of the much harrassed squatters and of education in its various aspects were the concern of anyone aiming to contribute to an improvement in race relations.

The worst affected during the traumatic experience of the Nyanga squatters were men and women who had been in employment for a long time, he said.

"Of the squatters whose temporary shelters and makeshift family living were dulldozed, of the many who were deported to homelands, of the 54 who lived for some weeks in St George's Cathedral, few were from the ranks of the unemployed," he said.

305 18/6/82

EDUCATE FOR THE FUTURE
The Cape Times BURSARY FUND

Two bursars now contr

Chief Reporter

ANOTHER former bursar — in this case the son of a retired bricklayer — has decided to make a monthly contribution to the Cape Times Bursary Fund as a way of showing his appreciation of the SA Institute of Race Relations bursary that helped him acquire a degree in business science at the University of Cape Town.

He is Mr Mogamat Zane Brown, 24, now an employee relations adviser in the personnel department at the head office of Caltex Oil (SA) in Cape Town.

He said yesterday that he had been impressed by a news item in the Cape Times earlier this month about another former SAIRR bursar, Mr Peter Stuurman of Kuils River, who had decided to contribute R30 a month to the Cape Times Bursary Fund, which is linked with the SAIRR bursary department.

Mr Stuurman, a former hawker's son and now a qualified attorney, is a professional assistant in a legal practice in Elsie's River.

Mr Brown said: "Like Mr Stuurman I have also been thinking this is a good way of helping others to benefit as we have through higher education.

"Let's hope other students who have been awarded bursaries in the past will also help boost the Cape Times Bursary Fund through regular donations."

● This is Mr Brown's story:

I was born in Cape Town in 1958 and went to school in Salt River, matriculating with a B aggregate at Salt River High in 1975. My father was a bricklayer at the time, but there were occasions when he was unable to work because of severe arthritis in his hands.

For much of the time that my two sisters and I were at school, my parents had to make ends meet with the help of a State disability grant.

I was awarded a Rotary scholarship in 1974/75, a UCT Council bursary from 1976/77 and a hospital welfare and Muslim Educational Movement bursary in 1978/79.

But it was the bursary I was awarded by the SA Institute of Race Relations that saw me right through university, from 1976 to 1979, when I graduated with a bachelor of business science degree.



Former bursar Mr Mogamat Brown.

My final-year thesis was t
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I heard about the SAIRR
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EDUCATE FOR THE FUTURE
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science degree.



Former bursar Mr Mogamat Brown.

My final-year thesis was titled "An Analysis of Coloured Housing in the Western Cape and the Responsibility of the Private Sector in Home Ownership".

I heard about the SAIRR bursaries through my matric maths teacher and from my sister Latiefa, also a university graduate and now a social worker with Nicro.

I am exceedingly grateful to the Institute of Race Relations' bursary department for providing financial assistance throughout my period of study at UCT; it helped tremendously to alleviate what would otherwise have been an intolerable financial burden on my family.

It also enabled me to realize my ambition to enter the relatively new and developing field of personnel management which, as I see it, is bound to acquire increasing importance and professional status in labour affairs generally.

I would like to gain extensive experience in all aspects of personnel administration and industrial relations, before moving into the training and development field.

● These are the latest donations received:

Previously acknowledged	R436 160
SA Permanent Building Society	5 000
P C	10
Pinelands Development Co Ltd	1 000
Dr J Douglas Roberts	1 250
Miss A M Macdonald	50
J A B Cooper	200
H and D Cleminshaw	50
Boots	25
J Appleton	500
P D Stuurman (former bursar)	30
Miss I M Bradley	25
HW and JDM	500
Tiger Oats and National Milling Co Ltd	6 000
	R450 800

● Contributions should be sent to: **The Cape Times Bursary Fund, P O Box 11, CAPE TOWN 8000.**

Mr Rees and Mr Wentzel

305 3/10/82 S. Express

THE South African Institute of Race Relations has, through its lawyer, challenged details of the report in the Sunday Express last week which mentioned the institute's investments through Fairheads Trust.

In a letter written on behalf of the institute, Mr Raymond Tucker points out that the institute's first investments with Fairheads were made in 1978, before Mr John Rees became a director and not, as the Sunday Express said, "soon after" he became a director.

Mr Tucker also points out that Mr Rees and Mr Alan Wentzel did not become members of the institute's finance committee "at the same time", as the Sunday Express averred. Mr Rees became a member on November 1, 1979 and Mr Wentzel attended his first meeting of the committee 11 months later.

Mr Tucker also points out that at the time the Sunday Express put its information to a senior official of the institute, the institute had substantially withdrawn its investments from Fairheads. This was in fact told to the Sunday Express by the institute official who said the information was not to be published, and it was therefore withheld from publication.

Mr Tucker's letter says, too, that the institute's investments with the Southern Trident Building Society took place long before Mr Wentzel joined the finance committee and were made as Fairheads Trust was an agent for that society. In fact, the Sunday Express has established that investments with Southern Trident took place both before and after Mr Wentzel joined the committee.

Mr Tucker says the institute believes the Sunday Express report endeavoured to create the impression that its funds were not being properly administered and to create an impression of irresponsible investment on the part of the institute.

The Sunday Express acknowledges that it erred in saying that the institute's first investments through Fairheads were made soon after Mr Rees became a director and that Mr Rees and Mr Wentzel joined the finance committee "at the same time". It apologises for these errors.

The report intended no implication of improper or irresponsible investment on the part of the institute and the Sunday Express regrets that any such implication should be read into it.

Langeberg Ag.

Fighters for human dignity

By Rene de Villiers

Within a month South Africa has lost three women of exceptional quality and ability. They were the same age, were friends of many years standing and shared one over-riding ideal: dedication to the cause of human advancement.

Two — Ellen Hellmann and Monica Wilson — were anthropologists (and a great deal more).The other, Hansi Pollak, was a sociologist (and much besides).

Ellen Hellmann and Hansi Pollak founded the Institute of Race Relations — the vehicle for their labour of love — and contributed immeasurably to the work and achievements of that body. Monica Wilson, while in complete sympathy with the ideals of the institute, made her particular contribution through her writing and the church.

I was privileged — and I use the word advisedly — to be associated with all three at various times over the past quarter of a century. It was an enriching experience.

All three were true scholars to whom propaganda was distasteful. They sought the truth and went wherever the quest led them.

All three had to incur occasional wrath or criticism from those who thought the facts could be bent just a little to achieve one or other end.

All three were liberals in the pure sense of the term: people who believed passionately in liberty and who sought it for all.

All three were sustained by their own particular faith, whether it originated in religion or in science. All three were driven, to the very end of their days, by a determination to spread knowledge and improve the quality of life for people of all creeds and colours in all walks of life.

All three, who in their own way and time, had shown remarkable



ELLEN HELLMANN

physical courage, whether it was in the outback of Africa or in its urban townships or in ravaged post-war Europe, became victims of crippling illness towards the end of their lives. But they never let up: they never gave in.

Hansi Pollak, I know, used to work to three or four in the morning on her beloved education bursary trusts. Ellen Hellmann read proofs and manuscripts for others when she was hardly able to move from one room to another. Monica Wilson kept on writing — and gardening — long after the onset of a terminal illness. They never spared themselves, no matter the cost their efforts exacted in suffering.

Of course they had their critics, because they had shortcomings: they were human after all. But they bore criticism with the same tolerance as they bore pain. Above all, in spite of setbacks and disappointments, even disillusionment from time to time, they never lost faith in the ideal of the dignity and potential worth of all men and women, no matter how humble their origins.

South Africa is the richer for their work and lives: we are richer for having known them.

Blessed is the land that can produce spirits of such nobility.

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human beings,' he said. —

Natal Mercury 16/2/83

t on ending

high mobility among residents, local authorities have to be seen to be trustworthy.'

One of the biggest effects of Government control over local-government spending was a tendency among municipal voters to elect National Party councillors 'who have greater pull with the powers that hold the purse strings'.

Besides macro control, there were already several other forms of Government control over local-authority purse strings.

There was a limit to the amount of rates which a local authority could levy — this worked out at 3 cents in the rand, including the rate for health services.

This tax ceiling forced local authorities to look elsewhere for sources of revenue and Government control over Government grants was exercised with great effect. Another built-in check and bal-

Christian and ... values would we refuse to commit ourselves to adhere to the provisions of the Geneva Convention on civilised warfare? And why with 7 231 Swapo 'terrorists' killed in that war is there never any official statistic on any prisoners?

3) In 1982 there were 77 members of our forces killed on the border. In 1981 some 9 000 people were killed in one year on our roads. That means for

comes world news. Bu... the SABC keeps its peace... about the sickening news... that in the same area in... Matabeleland more than... 100 blacks were killed by... the same gang of bandits.

Such glaring omissions... do the SABC no credit... And how many blacks are... murdered every weekend... in Soweto and our town... ships? Do we care?

Truth would serve my... country better.'

Stop those terrible HDV accidents

SIR — Once again we have seen the tragedy of a heavy-duty-vehicle driver killed last week when his truck overturned on Field's Hill. Also, other road users experienced hours of frustration with the road blocked.

I believe the free flow of downward traffic was not resumed until something like 24 hours later. As a result, aircraft bookings were missed, collection of business aquaintances at the airport missed, meetings in Durban delayed and all sorts of other attendant problems arose. Apart from the damage to hearts and minds caused by the frustrations!

While driving down The Hill a couple of days ago, watching a large petrol tanker 'enjoying' about 70 km/h and swinging out from the inside lane to overtake two slower-moving heavy-duty vehicles, pondering on whether the tanker was full or empty and the possible horrific consequences if it, too, crashed if full, it occurred to me that there really is a simple answer to the problem. Unfortunately, I do not know to which authority to write.

Stop and change

At the top of The Hill there is an area into which vehicles may drive, stop and engage lower gear. Few do. Simply pass legislation to make it mandatory that every h d vehicle above (say) three tons must draw in, stop and engage bottom gear which has to be used down the hill. The point at which a higher gear could be engaged could be indicated with a suitable sign.

This would leave the outside lane free for other traffic, and I am sure would stop 95 percent of these horrific accidents; also just as important, it would stop the time-wasting inconvenience the general public is now enduring.

'Reaction now, please, by the appropriate authority.

R E BUTCHER
Wingfield Mews
10 Emolweni Road
Kloof
3600

Cut town speeds

SIR — I have no statistics but it seems that far more fatal accidents are happening in town streets than on our freeways. Is our speed limit of 60 km/h too high? In Europe all town speeds are 50 km/h or less, and on the freeways one can go up to 100-133 km/h compared with our 100 km/h on fast roads.

We all know our town speed of 60 km/h is seldom adhered to and most drivers happily drive at 70 km/h or more, which is very dangerous as the stopping distance at this speed is very critical to prevent an accident. It is different on the freeways as one usually has time to rectify the situation which may arise as the stopping distance is not as critical as in town with all its cross streets and limited view of different situations.

Perhaps the National Road Safety Council should investigate this matter.

J VAN DE WALL SNR
Durban

Lapa again

SIR — So LAPA has gone and done it again:
Posts and telegraphs down the dram.
It's too costly to write or phone, I fear:

Natal Mercury

Maseru raid slammed

SIR — The council meeting of the S A Institute of Race Relations was held in Johannesburg on January 28 and the following three resolutions were adopted:

1) The council unequivocally condemns the recent SADF raid into Maseru as an unjustifiable act of violence. Acts of this kind undermine race relations in South Africa inflame public opinion and do immeasurable harm to South Africa's standing in the international community.

Vital

2) The council feels it vital to stress again that the failure to involve all the people of South Africa in all the decision-making structures of the country will increase the growing racial polarisation with inevitable disastrous consequences.

3) The council on the eve of the first anniversary of Neil Aggett's death.

i) Expresses its disquiet at the findings of the Aggett inquest;

ii) Further, expresses its opinion that the evidence led in the Aggett inquest proceedings highlights the need for more effective measures to preserve the physical and mental health of detainees;

Falls short

iii) Believes the 'code of conduct' announced by the Minister of Law and Order in November 1982 will not provide the required protection, as it lacks procedures for independent supervision;

iv) Calls on all South Africans to condemn unequivocally the system of detentions under security legislation and to strive for the aboliton of this unjust system.

DOT COLLINS
Regional Secretary
S A Institute of Race Relations

Odious 'sport'

SIR — On page 9 of your issue of February 11 are two distasteful reproductions of photographs, both depicting or connected with the odious 'sport' of bullfighting.

I suggest that you arrange, forthwith, to discontinue accepting such pictures from this or any

SAIRR offices raided

17/3/83

1/305

Own Correspondent C. Times

EAST LONDON. — Security police searched the offices of the South African Institute of Race Relations and the Masazane Open School yesterday afternoon.

The chairman of the SAIRR, Mr Jeremy Watson, said the security police had told office staff they were looking for pamphlets sent to the office by the Detainees Support Committee

A bundle of these pamphlets was found unopened and undistributed in the Masazane centre, Mr Watson said. He said the police then made a thorough search of the premises and questioned staff.

Warrant Officer Dirk Preuyt of the security police confirmed last night that there had been a search

D. Dispatch 305
17/3/83

Institute offices searched

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Warrant Officer Dirk Preuyt of the security police confirmed last night that there had been a search.

"The matter is under investigation and I have no further comment," he said. — DDR.

Anger grows over principal's 'spy' call

29 APR 1983

By Jo-Anne Collinge

An angry response is growing to a Johannesburg headmaster's request to parents of his pupils to help enforce the Group Areas Act in central city areas, Joubert Park and Hillbrow.

Last week Mr F O Gouws of the Laerskool Joubert Park sent circulars to parents appealing to them to exercise their right to report to the police blacks living in white areas and to supply him with information about black tenants in their areas.

The Progressive Federal Party's MP for the area, Mr Alf Widman, said today in Cape Town he would raise the matter in Parliament during the Law and Order Vote on Monday.

"I think it is wrong for the police to associate themselves with the use of children in a witch-hunt which is racially inciting," he said.

Mr Widman will demand that the police dissociate themselves from the headmaster's initiative.

Dr Franz Auerbach, vice-president of the non-racial South African Federation of Teachers' Associations, said it was an ugly move which would clearly increase racial hostility between white and black tenants.

The South African Institute of Race Relations Southern Transvaal secretary, Mrs Ina Perlman, asked whether the circular had been cleared at circuit level.

She said the Transvaal Education Department usually opposed staff involvement in politics and "we wonder how it will react to this flagrant political act".

Neither Professor H O Maree of the Transvaalse Onderwysersvereniging nor Mr Eddie Brown of the Transvaal Teachers' Association were available for comment this morning.



Operation Hunger

may have to feed a million mouths this winter

BRIGHT blue barrels of soured milk are becoming a familiar sight at schools, clinics and missions in the drought-ravaged rural areas.

Operation Hunger is at work.

By BRUCE COHEN

It will keep thousands of children alive this winter during the worst drought in two centuries; a drought that has turned homelands into wastelands of misery and starvation.

Many of those who are receiving this emergency aid don't even know where it's coming from.

"And that's good," says Ina Perlman, co-ordinator of Operation Hunger. "People shouldn't have to be grateful for the right to live."

Says Mrs Perlman from her basement office at the Institute of Race Relations in Johannesburg, headquarters of Operation Hunger: "A tragic situation is developing in the black rural areas this winter.

Families

"On my last few trips around the Transvaal, community worker after community worker has stressed that this winter will not only be one of hunger and malnutrition among the very old and the very young, but also one of family starvation."

Operation Hunger is now feeding well over 100 000 people.

Mrs Perlman estimates that very soon more than a million people will have to receive food aid or they will starve to death this winter.

Operation Hunger was born in August 1980. Right from the start, the

And Mrs Perlman is

CHECKERS STARTS BALL ROLLING

JO'BURG — Operation Hunger has received an enormous boost from Checkers.

The supermarket group has become directly involved in the project on a number of fronts.

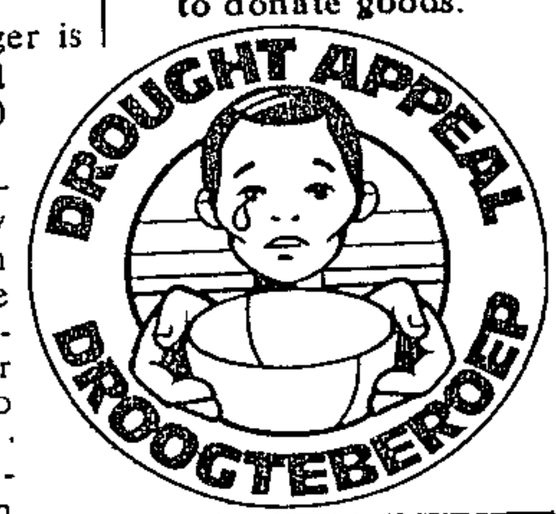
Each week it subsidises basic foods by R100 000.

Last week, for example, this subsidy cut the price of a 2,5kg bag of mealie meal from 91c to 79c.

Checkers has launched a direct appeal to commerce to pledge aid to Operation Hunger.

In one week, R50 000 has been pledged.

Checkers has "food bank" bins at many stores for shoppers to donate goods.



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Mrs Perlman estimates that very soon more than a million people will have to receive food aid or they will starve to death this winter.

Operation Hunger was born in August 1980. Right from the start, the project took a radical detour away from the usual "handout" relief projects by stating that, apart from its short term objective of feeding the hungry masses in the rural areas, it would establish self-help projects in these areas.

Iceberg

The project started enormous emergency feeding programmes, and today it is providing direct food aid to:

- 60 000 children in KwaZulu;
- 22 000 children in Gazankulu;
- 7 000 children in Bophuthatswana;
- 14 000 children in Lebowa;
- 5 500 children in the northern Cape, as well as aid to families in Onverwagt and Venda.

But it is the tip of the iceberg.

In Gazankulu alone, Chief Minister Hudson Ntsanwisi estimates that 300 000 people will need food relief this winter.

In Lebowa, secretary for health Dr Machupe Mphaphele reckons that 400 000 people will have to get aid to survive the coming months.

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And Mrs Perlman is convinced that but for the extraordinary compassion and sharing amongst blacks in these drought-ravaged areas, the situation would be hopeless.

The key to the breakthrough of Operation Hunger, she says, has been the fact that the project operates from the bottom – at grassroots level.

"We only work with groups that have the maximum credibility and infrastructure among the people.

Projects

And she says the feeding schemes have acted as a catalyst for numerous self-help projects, underlying Operation Hunger's stated goal of going way beyond mere charity.

"Once the people have got together to organise emergency feeding schemes, they have started looking at other community needs," says Mrs Perlman. "They have identified other areas of need and started vegetable gardens, adult literacy classes and craft co-operatives."

As winter closes in on us, Operation Hunger faces the enormous task of saving thousands *of lives.*

How YOU can help

OPERATION HUNGER needs the help of everyone.

If you can help, send your donation to Mrs Ina Perlman, Operation Hunger, PO Box 97, Johannesburg 2000.

Charges against Rees not known

CAPE Times 9/11/87

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Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Mr John Rees, former secretary-general of the South African Council of Churches (SACC), who faces trial in the Rand Supreme Court for alleged fraud, still does not know what charges he must face.

This emerged yesterday when Mr Rees appeared before Mr Justice Esselen.

The trial arises from allegations that he committed fraud at the offices of the SACC during his term as secretary-general.

The court was told that police have still not produced an indictment for Mr Rees. The investigating officer, Detective Warrant Officer J A Mills of the Commercial Branch, has resigned from the police force.

A request by Mr Rees's counsel, Mr B Doctor, that the State be ordered to produce the charge sheet by the middle of this month, was turned down by the judge.

The case was adjourned till February 21.

Senior counsel could not be present at the hearing yesterday, Mr Justice Esselen was told

Mr Doctor said the State apparently had problems in producing a charge sheet despite a claim in April that they had a prima facie case against Mr Rees.

In rejecting the request that the State be obliged to produce a charge sheet, Mr Justice Esselen agreed with the prosecutor, Mr Kevin Attwell, that such an order would create a precedent and said he was not prepared to tie the State down to a specific date.

Mr Attwell said that if the case were adjourned again at the February trial date it would not be because of problems in serving the indictment.

Yesterday, senior spokesmen for the Commercial Branch said they did not know what had caused the delay in completing the indictment.

Mr Attwell said in an interview later that part of the problem stemmed from the resignation of Detective Warrant Officer Mills.

He said the investigating officer would leave the force at the end of this month, and was now training new staff.

'Setbacks'

Mr Attwell said the delay in serving the indictment was caused by "a couple of setbacks" and certain "unforeseen hitches" during the investigation. He added that "certain things about Mr Rees have cropped up during the investigation which need attention".

Warrant Officer Mills said that as far as he was concerned the investigation had been concluded and handed over to Mr Attwell.

Since July the case has been adjourned several times. Mr Rees has paid R30 000 bail.

The dynamics of

social change



Mrs Deborah Mabiletsa

By LIZ MACKENZIE

A widely experienced community worker, Mrs Deborah Mabiletsa, has been director of Women's Work in the South African Council of Churches throughout the country; consultant to black women's independent groups; and president of the Black Women's Federation until 1977. As director and consultant for the Urban Foundation she recently attended a conference where 188 developmental projects throughout the world were re-assessed.

DEBORAH MABILETSA, a director of the Urban Foundation, believes the South African education system needs a complete overhaul.

Johannesburg-based, she speaks in Cape Town tonight at the annual meeting of the South African Institute of Race Relations (SAIRR).

"She's obviously a dynamic woman — she's become the director of whatever she's done. Her record speaks for itself. It would be interesting to hear why she feels she has a place in the Urban Foundation, knowing there is a certain group opposed to it," says Hazel Bowen, regional secretary of the Cape Western Region of the SAIRR.

On the telephone, Mrs Mabiletsa's voice is stern at first. It mellows as she moves into her subject.

"Poor education"

"The dynamics of social change lie in education," she says.

"For more than 300 years education has been neither compulsory nor free — for blacks. This means that millions of blacks have suffered with poor or no education. And although the De Lange Report recommended a unitary system of education under one Minister, which was applauded by educationists as a positive step, this was ignored by the Government.

"The State doesn't have a mandate to segregate schools. Expectations have been raised. The blacks, especially the youth, equate segregated education with inferior education. They see the present educational system as based on ideological separation and therefore entrenching discriminatory practice.

"The Institute of Race Relations runs a bursary programme which involves about 5 000 people a year. They process about 12 300 applications a year. This is a significant contribution to the education of blacks."

Tonight Mrs Mabiletsa will speak on the role of the South African Institute of Race Relations in the present reality of South Africa.

She says: "The institute is engaged in a wide variety of projects, like Operation Hunger, a feeding scheme which is of immense value, particularly in the light of the drought. They are engaged in relief work and development.

"You have to deal with basic needs first. But the question really is: shouldn't the causes of poverty and misery be attended to, because relief is, at best, a temporary measure ?"

Her speech, lucid and calm, remains so when asked why certain people boycott the Urban Foundation.

"There are people who feel that the Urban Foundation has come too late upon the scene and that the polarisation between black and white is already so great that what is going to solve our problem is a revolutionary change. They say the Urban Foundation raises standards of living and therefore neutralises the revolution.

"Raise standards"

"But this again is debatable. Some of us believe that if you enhance the quality of life, people will no longer settle for less. And revolutions are run by the middle class. I believe it is important that the standards of people should be raised. So we are asking the private sector to put its money where its mouth is."

The question, then, is: Surely the private sector can only improve the lives of a special few ? Is there not a need for laws to be changed ?

And she answers: "If the standard is raised for only a special few, you are dividing and ruling, which is not right. But even in socialist countries we see that people can never all be on the same wavelength."

● The institute's AGM is at 8 pm, Room 3B, Robert Leslie Building, UCT.

Forums on labour, poverty

305

EAST LONDON — A new series of monthly forums has been planned here to make businessmen and the general public more aware of labour and poverty problems in the Eastern Cape.

The series, which has been organised by the local branch of the South African Institute of Race Relations, leads off with a lecture by Professor T. R. Davenport, professor of history at Rhodes University entitled Law and Labour — the Experience of the Years.

Mrs Roselle Frasca, the regional secretary of the Institute here, said she hoped the forums would open up avenues of discussion between the business world and labour groups and would result in better communication and understanding between them.

"We want to expose definite issues clearly to make the public more aware of the difficulties people face in this area," she said.

Mrs Frasca said she had made extensive visits to businessmen in the city and had received a well-meaning and positive reaction to the forum idea.

Other people lined up to lead the forums include Mr F. Ferreira, director of industrial relations at the Ford plant in Port Elizabeth, Mr C. de Wet, an anthropologist at Rhodes University who will speak on migrant labour and Mrs Trudi Thomas.

The forums will all take place in the museum hall at 7.45 pm one Wednesday every month and are open to all. — DDR

A-1

Constitution not a 'path towards peace'

Cape Times 13/4/83

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Staff Reporter

A CONSTITUTION "dreamed up by a minority party that is temporarily in power because of undemocratic factors" was "not to be taken seriously as a path towards peace", the chairman of the South African Institute of Race Relations (SAIRR) Western Cape Region, Mr Brian Bishop, said this week.

Delivering his annual chairman's report at the University of Cape Town, Mr Bishop said that "besides the evils of apartheid and civil rights infringements", South Africans faced the "problems" resulting from a political party that had "governed for too long and that can only survive by false propaganda and fear".



Mr Brian Bishop

He did not believe there was "a grain of sincerity" in the talk of reform for two main reasons.

"Firstly, the sections of the press that are completely government-controlled, are doing nothing to advocate reform among their readers, or to spread truth or contrasting viewpoints."

The second reason was "the on-going viciousness of the raids on our black suburbs and the relocation programme that, even before the drought, meant death to so many".

SAIRR to examine director's resignation

Cape Times 20/5/83

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — John Rees has resigned as director of the SA Institute of Race Relations (SAIRR) and is now facing a bill of at least R60 000 for his trial.

The Methodist Church, of which he is the most senior lay member, said it would be examining the sentence and conviction, "but continued to respect him for the invaluable Christian work he has done".

Rees said yesterday that he had tendered his resignation shortly before judgment was delivered.

He said he was in a difficult financial position but friends and others had made generous contributions to his expenses.

The deputy director of the SAIRR, Mrs Hazel Moolman, said the institute's executive would meet on the weekend to consider the resignation, and acceptance of it was "by no means automatic".

On behalf of the SAIRR staff, she expressed sorrow.

John Rees quits Race Relations

By ANTON HARBER

JOHN REES, who was yesterday fined R30 000 for fraud and theft, has resigned as director of the SA Institute of Race Relations and is now facing a bill of at least R60 000 for his trial.

And the Methodist Church, of which he is the most senior lay member, said it would be examining the sentence and conviction but "continued to respect him for the invaluable Christian work he has done".

Noticeably relieved at avoiding a prison sentence, Mr Rees said yesterday he had tendered his resignation shortly before judgment was delivered.

The judge sentenced him to 10 years' jail, wholly suspended for five years, and a fine of R30 000 to be paid in three instalments over the next 18 months.

Mr Rees said he was intensely grateful at not having to go to prison but he stood by his statement in court that he was "free in spirit".

He said he was in a difficult financial position since his legal costs would be well over R60 000 but friends and others had made very generous contributions to his expenses.

He had no plans for the future.

The deputy director of the SAIRR, Mrs Hazel Moolman, said the institute's executive would meet at the weekend to consider his resignation. Acceptance of it was "by no means automatic", she said.

In a statement on behalf of the staff of the SAIRR, she expressed sorrow at the decision of the court to convict him.

"During the full period of his term, he has been an honourable and respected director," she said.

At the end of the trial, the staff presented Mr Rees with a bouquet of flowers.

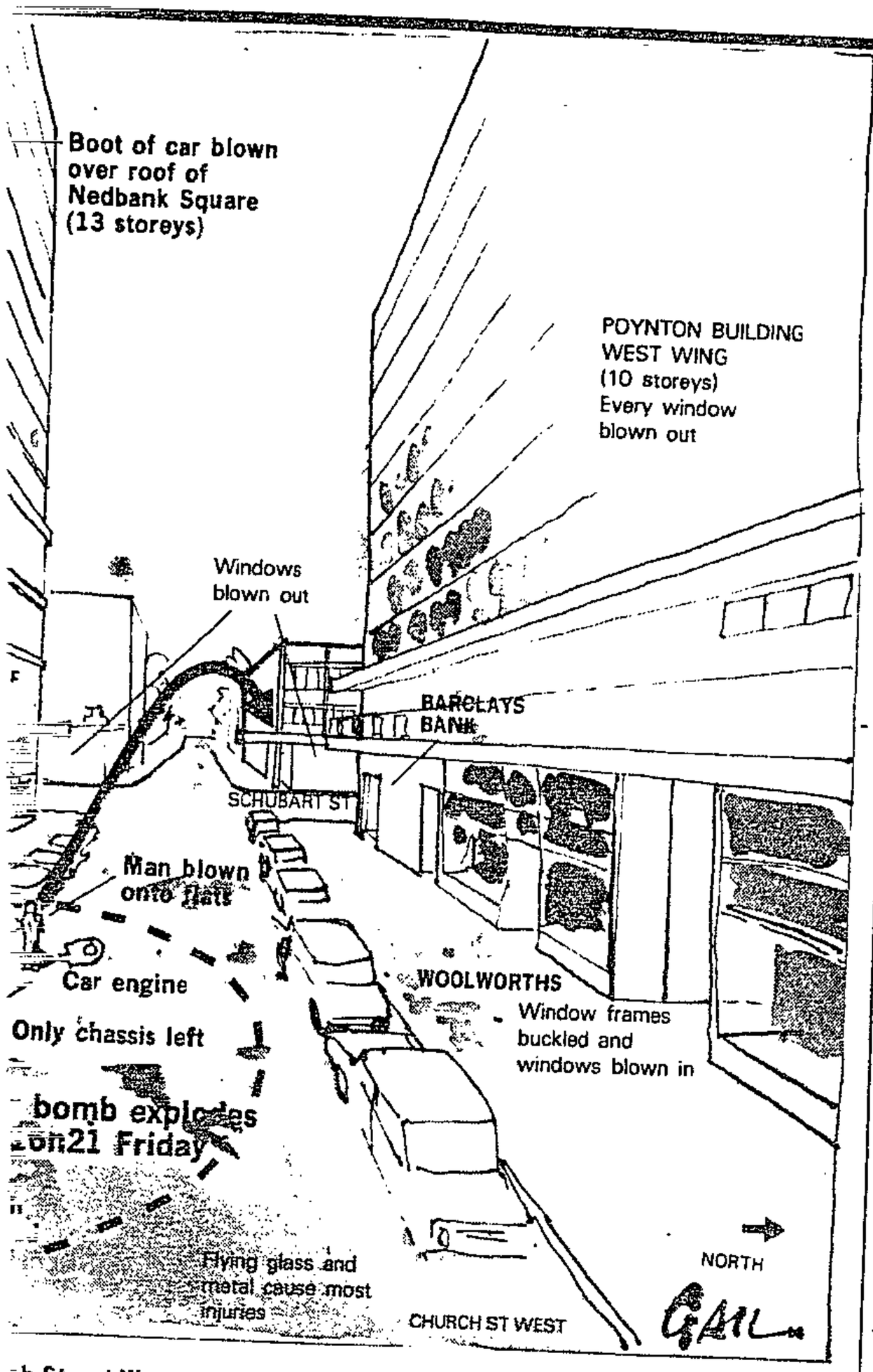
The Rev Khoza Mgojo, president of the Methodist Church, said all compassionate Christians would be relieved that the time of trial for Mr Rees and his family was now over.

Rees sentenced — Page 3



with one of many well-wishers who heard him being sentenced yesterday.

Picture: GREG ENGLISH



ch Street West, Pretoria, showing the damage, horror and destruction

Graphic: Gail Irwin

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Africa would not hesitate to launch more pre-emptive raids on nearby ANC bases.

"If we don't start taking that kind of action, we're sitting around waiting for an atrocity to happen," Gen Malan said.

South Africa showed the power of such strikes last December when it launched a dawn invasion on Lesotho's capital, Maseru. South Africa said the raid killed 30 members of the ANC.

The Prime Minister, Mr P W Botha, described the explosion as part of a "communist-inspired onslaught" and promised that the country's security forces were getting the situation under control.

In an interview with Sapa, when questioned on statements made on possible pre-emptive strikes, the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Le Grange, said yesterday: "I agree with my colleague, General Malan, when he said yesterday that no

This is proof — HNP

THE BOMB explosion in Pretoria proved once again that all the concessions the Government had made during the past 14 years had "not been of any use", the Herstigte Nasionale Party said in a statement in Pretoria.

It added that the Government's willingness to relinquish the constitution of "White South Africa" to bring about peace and conciliation in the Republic had been answered with an "abominable deed of violence".

"The head committee (of the HNP) expresses its sympathy with the victims of this despicable act and their families but, in the sad circumstances, is obliged at the same time to warn the Government that it is not

Rees' decision accepted

THE Executive Committee of the South African Institute of Race Relations has accepted the resignation of its director, Mr John Rees.

Mr Rees was found guilty of defrauding the South African Council of Churches — of which he was the former general secretary — and fined R30 000 in the Rand Supreme Court last week.

In a statement, the Institute said it regretfully found itself legally bound to accept his resignation in terms of the Companies Act.

"The Institute wishes to place on public record its lasting gratitude to Mr Rees for the honourable and loyal service he has given it, and wishes also to affirm its admiration of his energetic and inspiring leadership."

The statement said the institute believed "Mr Rees has a continuing role to play in pursuit of reconciliation and social justice in South Africa".

Mrs Hazel Moolman, the Institute's deputy director, had been appointed acting director with immediate effect, the statement added. — Sapa.

Mpakati link to trial?

HARARE. — Lawyers for two Malawian nationals believe their clients are being held in connection with the murder in Harare of Dr Attati Mpakati, former leader of the exiled Socialist League of Malawi.

Radio announcer Mr Brighton Matewere and hotel manager Mr Greenson Muhango were arrested early last month after Dr Mpakati's body was found with gunshot wounds near the city centre. They are being held on charges of murder, but Dr Mpakati's name has not yet been mentioned at the remand appearances.

In a weekend bail application, the lawyers said: "The only thing our clients know is that they are charged with murder."

Miss Melanie Werrett, for the State, said the case was one of murder and "the police suspect that at least five people were involved in a political assassination plot".

The hearing was postponed after Miss Werrett said a ministerial certificate forbidding bail would be pro-

Rees will guide the SACC's new fundraisers

29/5/83 S. Express

By WILMAR UTTING

MR JOHN Rees, who resigned as director of the SA Institute of Race Relations after being convicted of defrauding the SA Council of Churches, will continue to handle the institute's massive fund raising campaign for a while.

And yesterday the institute refused to comment on reports that it had issued a salary cheque — covering six months — to Mr Rees.

He was given the cheque — for several thousand rands — shortly after he resigned.

The 46-year-old professional fundraiser also faces action from the SACC to recover R200 000 entrusted to him during his controversial term as general secretary.

'This decision was taken at a top-level meeting in Johannesburg on Friday. The meeting was also attended by church leaders from the Roman Catholic Church and the Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk in Afrika.

The meeting accepted the resignation of the SACC president, Rev Peter Storey, a staunch supporter of Mr Rees.

The acting director of the Institute of Race Relations, Mrs Hazel Moolman, said Mr Rees's services would be required during a handing-over period.

"He will act for a while, helping with the fundraising that he has been doing up to now," Mrs Moolman said. "I do not know how long Mr Rees will be with us. It depends on how long it will take me to grasp all the administration."

But she refused to discuss the conditions of Mr Rees's resignation or to confirm that the institute had handed over six months' salary to its former director. "Mr Rees' affairs are a private matter and are confidential," she said.

Asked if the institute did not owe an explanation to the public on whom it relied for revenue, she referred queries to Mr Harold Bernstein, the financial officer.

Mr Bernstein refused to discuss the matter. "You are a stranger to the truth," he said. "If you or your editor have questions, I expect them to be put in writing and then I will consider answering them."

A similar reaction came from Professor John Dugard, a member of the institute's executive committee and a former past president, who said the institute had issued a statement about Mr Rees's resignation.

The statement said the institute "regretfully found itself legally bound to accept his resignation in terms of the Companies Act."

"I am under no obligation to give you any further information," Prof Dugard said angrily.

Mr Rees's official standing at the institute ended a few days after he was sentenced in the Rand Supreme Court to an effective jail term of 10 years. The sentence was suspended. He was also fined R30 000, to be paid in three instalments starting in December this year.



● Mrs Sally Motlana, vice-president of the South African Council of Churches, with the Rev Alan Boesak of the NGK Sendingkerk and Bishop Desmond Tutu, general secretary of the SACC, at a top-level meeting on Friday.

The SACC decision to recover monies from Mr Rees has led to a disagreement with Mr Storey, Mr Rees' pastor at the Central Methodist Church, strongly opposing any action against his parishioner.

But Bishop Desmond Tutu, present secretary general, said: "We have a responsibility to our donors to do what we can to recover the money."

Churchmen who took the final decision against Mr Rees on Friday included representatives from the Anglican, Methodist, Presbyterian, Lutheran, United Congregational and Roman Catholic churches and the NG Kerk in Afrika.

The SACC has yet to announce its stand on two vital decisions which it faces:

● How to respond to the findings of Rand Supreme Court judge Mr Justice Richard Goldstone, who, during Mr Rees's trial, said the council had irresponsibly placed too much trust in Mr Rees and should take part responsibility for his crime.

● What steps to take about the position of its finance committee chairman, Mr Alan Wentzel, whose role in Mr Rees's criminal transactions "deserved to cause eyebrows to be raised".

Student aid needs more teachers

Cape Times 30/8/83 305

By DAPHNE WILSON, Principal, SA Institute of Race Relations' Enrichment Programme

FOR the second year running, African Standard 10 pupils from the four local high schools, Langa, ID Mkize, Sizamile and Fezeka, have been making use of an enrichment programme operating in the St Francis cultural centre in Langa.

This programme is funded by the Evangelische Zentralstelle Entwicklungshilfe (EZE) through the SA Institute of Race Relations. EZE supports other enrichment programmes at secondary and tertiary level elsewhere in the country under the umbrella of the SAIRR.

Our programme here in the Western Cape is run rather differently from the others. It does not limit itself to a small selected number, but is open to all students at the four schools who are taking the academic course that includes physical science and mathematics.

In addition, it provides lectures on English prescribed works for any African Standard 10 pupil for whom these are relevant, irrespective of whether or not such a pupil is taking physical science and mathematics in his Senior Certificate course.

This year the enrichment school has expanded greatly. Every Saturday morning classes are given in the well-equipped classrooms of the St Francis Centre, in physical science, mathematics and English language. On request from our students an additional class in science is now being held by our science teacher, Mrs Gillian Thorburn on Saturday afternoons. This means a long extra school day on Saturdays.

Then after the regular day school, on three afternoons a week, our students turn up again at the enrichment classes for lectures on their English poetry prescribed work on Tuesdays, on biology on Wednesdays and on "Romeo and Juliet" on Thursdays.

Their after-school schedule is thus an extremely busy and exhausting one as, in addition, each of the four schools concerned has a weekly afternoon visit to the Plato system of maths instruction at UWC, for its senior pupils.

Our attendance register reveals that a large number of students are attending regularly every class that is relevant to their course of study, particularly in physical science and the English setworks; we have approximately 230 Sandard 10 pupils using the programme.

The enthusiasm that produces such support is obvious and a wonderful spirit of determination pervades the whole enterprise.

Although I have made it clear that money is available to assist students who might be deterred from attending classes through high transport cost, only a negligible number have applied for such assistance. The pupils likewise show independence in preferring to buy any of the books or aids-to-learning which from time to time we collectively (staff and pupils) consider worth using. The EZE fund is used to subsidize the cost of such books.

About 30 of the regular attenders are repeating Standard 10 this year after failing to get Senior Certificates or the desired Matriculation exemptions in 1982. They know that some of their more successful colleagues on the programme last year were able to obtain EZE or other major scholarships last year provided their academic matriculation results were of sufficient merit. The programme hopes to promote the tertiary education of another similar group of successful matriculants in 1984.

Just recently because it was brought to the notice of the SA Institute of Race Relations that Sizamile High School had not had a physical science or mathematics teacher on the regular staff since March of this year we have now opened up physical science classes for the 120 Sizamile Standard Nine pupils on Saturday mornings, in addition to our regular classes for the Standard 10's.

As a temporary measure, these Standard Nine pupils are given instruction at Sizamile High School in mathematics and physical science after regular school hours each afternoon, from a teacher teaching these subjects at Langa High School during the mornings. The strain on all concerned is obvious.

One sincerely wishes that such enrichment programmes as the one I have described need not be necessary, and that in fact all pupils, irrespective of race, could be receiving the best possible education under a system common to all; however the hard fact remains that for the present life goes on and it is important to respond to the unquenchable thirst of presently deprived students for higher standards, and generally wider knowledge.

The present enrichment programme at the St Francis centre, made possible by the enthusiasm and hard work of the students and the programme staff and by the funds through the SA Institute of Race Relations from EZE, could still be greatly expanded to serve all Standard Nine's in the four township schools. Such work would provide the spade work for better performance at Standard 10 level.

However, one major factor limits this expansion. We need more experienced, well qualified teachers in physical science, mathematics, English and biology. It is to catch the attention and support of such potential teachers that this article has been written. Teachers are paid modest salaries for their services and all arrangements can be further discussed if volunteers will write to me c/o SAIRR, 5 Long Street, Mowbray, giving full particulars of their degree qualifications and teaching experience, and the times they can be available on week-day afternoons or Saturday mornings. Telephone 65 1025 if more information is required.



Daphne Wilson

We need more good experienced teachers to teach in Langa once a week, as soon as possible.

City trust's helping hand for students

ARGUS 31/8/83

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Man grabs R2 000

Crime Reporter

A MAN, part of a group of six men, grabbed a cash box containing more than R2 000 from a cashier at a Parow supermarket.

Mrs Veronica de Sousa, 30, a cashier at Nicko's Supermarket in Third Avenue, Parow, said the six men came into the supermarket yesterday afternoon.

While she was distracted when the telephone rang, one of the men leant over the counter and grabbed a cash box.

The six men fled.

Staff Reporter

SHAHEED Adams could have been hard at work this year at a city upholstery business. Instead he is spending his time drawing.

Shaheed is a first-year graphic design student at the Peninsula Technikon and is drawing towards his ideal of joining an advertising company.

Were it not for the Higher Education Trust (HET) managed by The Board of Executors, Shaheed would still be upholstering chairs.

The trust was born from an anonymous donation of R1-million and this year helped 141 students pursue their studies. Next year HET will make R100 000 available to needy students.

SAVINGS

HET's bursaries and scholarships vary in value according to the need of the student. Shaheed has a bursary of R240 a year. Small perhaps, but with a second bursary and his savings from last year when he worked in an upholstery business, it made all the difference. Without it, he says, he could not have registered at the Technikon this year.

Andre George, on the other hand, has a large scholarship from the HET fund — R2 400 a year. A fifth year UCT medical student, he hopes one day to enter the neuro-science research world.

Two very different students in two very different courses of study. One thing, however, they have in common. As long as they continue to pass their courses they both know that the HET will continue to supply them with the money necessary to complete their courses.

Dr F C Robb, chairman of the trustees of the HET, notes that there are no fixed bursaries in the fund and the awards are geared to the student's needs. "HET supplies the certainty that if you pass your exams you may have every expectation you will receive continued support," Dr Robb said.

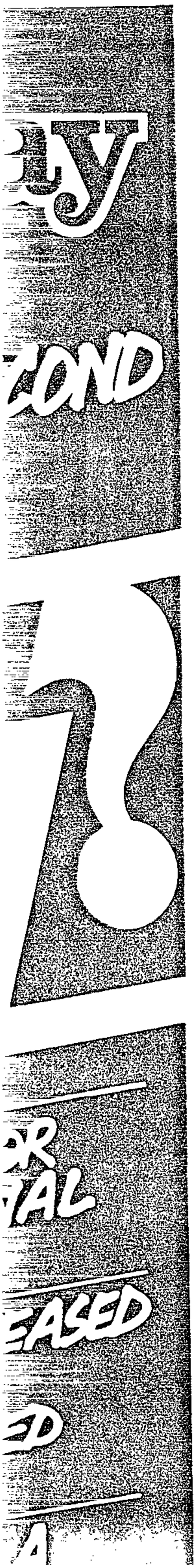
LANGUAGE

HET has two students studying overseas, one a language student, the other a classical guitarist.

Mrs Daphne Wilson, chief of the bursary department of the South African Institute of Race Relations and chairman of the HET bursary subcommittee, has asked people to be aware of the needs of educational trusts.

So far this year the institute has already had 400 applications for the R250 000 assistance (made up of trusts like the HET) it has available for students next year. Tertiary education is becoming very expensive and the institute is considering increasing the size, and therefore having to decrease the number, of bursaries to qualifying students.

"To keep pace with rising costs and inflation one cannot afford to be complacent about adding to the size of the eight trusts administered by the SAIRR," Mrs Wilson said.



Kane-Berman is new director of the SAIRR

A JOURNALIST, Mr John Kane-Berman, has been appointed director of the SA Institute of Race Relations, it was announced in Johannesburg yesterday.

The president of the Institute, Professor Lawrence Schlemmer, said in a statement that Mr Kane-Berman would take up his appointment tomorrow.

Mr Kane-Berman, 37, has had a distinguished career as a scholar, journalist and community leader. He attended St John's College, Johannesburg, and graduated from the University of the Witwatersrand, where he was president of the Students Representative Council. In 1969 he was the Transvaal Rhodes scholar, going to Oxford to read PPE (Philosophy, Politics, and Economics).

In the early 1970s, Mr Kane-Berman worked in the research department of the SAIRR. From 1973 to 1979 he was on the staff of the Financial Mail as labour editor and later as senior assistant editor.

Since leaving the Financial Mail, he has been self-employed as a freelance writer and broadcaster.

In 1978, Mr Kane-Berman published the book "Soweto — Black Revolt, White Reaction", thought by many to be the definitive work on the Soweto student riots of 1976.

Commenting on the appointment, Mr Ernie Wentzel, SC, chairman of the national executive of the institute, described Mr Kane-Berman as "a truly outstanding South African, who will be able to lead the institute in a confident and accomplished fashion in these challenging times". — Sapa.

FM 2/9/83

SWAZILAND

Apparent winners

Only the workings of the Kremlin are more mysterious than those of Swaziland's Supreme Council of State, or Liqoqo. But it now seems that a faction within the Liqoqo has effectively "hijacked" the Swazi monarchy to emerge as *de facto* ruling party.

INSTITUTE LEADER

Following the resignation of John Rees, and after considering a large number of applicants for the post, the SA Institute of Race Relations has appointed John Kane-Berman as its new director. Kane-Berman assumes his duties next week.

The announcement was officially made on Tuesday by the institute's president, Lawrence Schlemmer, after the recommendation of a "search advisory committee" was accepted last weekend. The *FM* understands that the institute, traditionally a civil rights lobby and research organisation, will be looking to the business community for increased support.

Kane-Berman (37), up to his appointment, was widely known as a freelance journalist and author. His *Soweto — Black Revolt, White Reaction* is regarded as the definitive work on the unrest following June 16 1976. It has been reprinted five times and is a setwork at SA and foreign universities.

Kane-Berman is returning to the institute after a period of over 10 years. A research report which he did for the institute on the Ovambo strike in Namibia in 1971 brought him to the attention of the *FM*, where he was appointed Labour Editor and subsequently Senior Assistant Editor until 1979.

A Rhodes scholar, he has been on the selection committee for Rhodes scholarships in SA for 10 years. Of his new task, he says: "It's an enormous challenge, but I welcome it. I am confident that the institute will grow from strength to strength and that we will be able to provide the business world and SA at large with objective research of the highest quality, in addition to our other important functions."



Guardian National GN

INSURANCE COMPANY LIMITED
(Incorporated in the Republic of South Africa)

INTERIM REPORT TO SHAREHOLDERS FOR THE HALF-YEAR ENDED JUNE 30, 1983

	Half-year ended June 30, 1983	Half-year ended June 30, 1982	Year ended December 31 1982
	R'000	R'000	R'000
Net Premiums Written			
Fire, Accident & Marine	34 473	37 281	64 687
Life	5 625	4 741	8 971
Underwriting Profit (Loss)			
Fire, Accident & Marine	1 079	(595)	124
Transfer of Life Profits	103	55	205
Income from Investments	3 727	3 753	7 799
Profit before Taxation	4 909	3 213	8 128
Taxation	1 537	582	2 348
Profit after Taxation	3 372	2 631	5 780
Number of shares in issue	10 000 000	10 000 000	10 000 000
Earnings per share	33,7 cents	26,3 cents	57,8 cents
Dividend per share	15,0 cents	10,0 cents	38,0 cents

COMMENTS

1. Market Conditions

A marginal underwriting loss in the Fire Department has been off-set by a marked improvement in the Motor, General Accident and Marine Departments, giving rise to an overall underwriting surplus in the general insurance account of R1 079 000, compared to a loss of R595 000 for the corresponding period in 1982.

The Fire Department result is due primarily to competitive pressures for industrial fire business, which continues to hold down premium rates at levels insufficient to absorb the incidence and pattern of fire loss experience. A correction is long overdue and recent developments within the worldwide reinsurance market show positive signs in this direction.

Net premium income has fallen by some 7% in comparison with the half-year 1982. This is partly due to a change in the distribution of the Company's business through the year but is also evidence of a selective underwriting policy which, regrettably, has meant that some opportunities for premium growth have had to be sacrificed.

Fluctuating investment rates in the money market, lower cash flow and a lack of dividend growth from equities has led to a slight fall in investment income from R3 753 000 in 1982 to R3 727 000 The surplus on the underwriting account of R1 079 000 and an increased transfer of R103 000 from the Life Department, together with basically maintained investment income has produced a profit after taxation of R3 372 000 – an increase of 28% over the corresponding period in 1982 in spite of a sharply increased charge for taxation.

Because of the nature of General Insurance business the half-year results should not be taken as indicative of the likely outturn for the full financial year.

The Life Fund continued to grow satisfactorily over the period and stood at R50 576 000 as at June 30, 1983.

2. Increase in Interim Dividend

The increase in the interim dividend is mainly due to the desire of the Board to reduce the disparity between the interim and final dividends which has widened considerably in recent years.

DECLARATION OF INTERIM DIVIDEND

Notice is hereby given that an Interim Dividend (Number 60) of 15,0 cents per share has been declared payable to shareholders registered in the books of the Company on Friday, September 23, 1983.

The transfer register and register of members will be closed from September 24, to October 2, 1983 both dates inclusive and dividend cheques will be posted on or about October 14, 1983. Non-resident shareholders' tax at the appropriate level will be deducted where applicable from dividends payable to shareholders with addresses outside the Republic of South Africa.

ON BEHALF OF THE BOARD
D. GORDON (Chairman)
M.J.S. NEWMAN (Managing Director)

August 25, 1983

SHARE TRANSFER OFFICE
1 Ameshoff Street
BRAAMFONTEIN
2001

SAIRR hits out at Ciskei

DURBAN — The president of the South African Institute of Race Relations, Professor Lawrence Schlemmer, said here that Ciskei was beginning to look like "a banana republic".

It had had generals making statements which were out of touch with the needs and requirements of a modern political system.

"These generals are now in prison, but there will be others and they may land in prison too. The situation is beginning to look worse than the excesses experienced in South America in the 1930s.

"We all have to think about the consequences this will have in the long run," Prof Schlemmer said. — DDC.

Ciskei attacks SAIRR head

Capt Torik 16/10/82 305

ZWELITSHA. — The Ciskei yesterday accused a director of the South African Institute of Race Relations of instigating revolution and discouraging investment in the homeland.

A statement by the Ciskei Public Relations Division also claimed that the SAIRR had played no positive role in improving the lives of blacks, but instead had offered only "Negative and destructive criticism".

Ciskei was reacting to a recent report by the executive director of the SAIRR, Mr John Kane-Berman, which highlighted the political turmoil in the territory.

"If Mr Kane-Berman's objective is to drive away the Ciskei investors, then he is engaging himself in a fruitless exercise as statistics have revealed that industrial projects are under investigation," the statement said.

'Highly desirable'

"These projects are considered highly desirable for Ciskei. Some of the industries already established have continued with their characteristics of growth and expansion."

The homeland's statement said Mr Kane-Berman was working against positive economic development in the region and that people such as he "who want to be believed as champions of black interests in Southern Africa are in actuality instigators of a revolutionary epoch.

"The government machinery is in full swing in an endeavour to attain the goals set out in a 10-point plan for achieving development in Ciskei," the statement said. — Sapa

Former unionist detainee lands race relations post

Labour Correspondent

A FORMER trade unionist who was detained without trial for a lengthy period by Security Police, Mr Monty Narsoo, has been appointed Southern Transvaal manager of the SA Institute of Race Relations.

Mr Narsoo, who is 27, is a former general secretary of the Johannesburg Municipal Combined Employees Union and was detained last year with a large group of unionists and students.

A statement released by the institute yesterday said he would replace Mrs Ina Perlman, who is to devote all her time to directing the institute's Operation Hunger project.

According to the statement, Mr Narsoo, who has been working for Actstop, an organisation which has been fighting the eviction of coloured and Asian people in terms of the Group Areas Act, is also a former executive member of the Johannesburg Indian Social Welfare Association.

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that there is a very real alternative to the divisive constitutional policies that the government is following. It is more important now than ever to hold out that alternative vision as a safer and sounder basis on which South Africa should be organized.

Secondly, we must concentrate our attention on some of the main problems ahead. These are:

The critical housing shortage;

The need for a realistic urbanization policy;

The need for a realistic labour policy;

The need for a realistic policy on education.

We also find that businessmen are signing agreements with black and non-racial unions to the extent that it is no longer even newsworthy. In addition, the government has finally conceded to African workers the same statutory collective bargaining rights as other workers have long enjoyed. The major lesson that arises from this is that if black people can mobilize themselves for non-violent, concerted action, they can achieve worthwhile goals.

The battle that the unions have won has been fought with a great deal of toil and tears and sweat, and it is by no means over. But it is a great achievement for which I salute those unions. I also believe that, in spite of many teething troubles, business and government recognize it as a necessary development in the interests of SA.

Secondly, there is clearly a revival of political action taking place right across the black political spectrum.

The UDF has been formed, as has the National Forum, and Inkatha's membership has grown. The revival of all this activity indicates that a great many of the dispossessed people in this country believe they have a worthwhile political role to play and that they can achieve goals by using methods other than violence.

I only hope that the response of the state to these initiatives will be constructive rather than destructive.

COGGIN: You have spoken about the emergence of new black political organizations. What strategies do you

apartheid.

COGGIN: Many would suggest that the time for talk in South Africa is past, and would ask whether violence is not a solution? What is the institute's standpoint?

KANE-BERMAN: We all know very well that the reason some black people turned to violence in the 1960s was that the ANC and PAC were banned. These were the two main political parties giving expression to black aspirations, and one of them had existed for as long

clearly than any of our neighbouring states. It is able to manufacture about 90 percent of its weapon requirements and has even made some notable technical advances in the production of arms. In addition, it will probably be a net exporter of energy before 1990.

The billions of rands invested here by European and American companies, together with the fact that a country like Britain is heavily dependent on trade with South Africa, makes the country pretty invulnerable to economic sanctions.

Most of our neighbouring countries also believe, correctly I think, that if they ever permitted a major campaign of violence to be launched against Pretoria from their soil, South Africa could destroy them economically and militarily in a very short space of time.

Against this background I believe that anyone holding out the prospect that violence can topple the Pretoria government, even by a

in South Africa I would be presumptuous if I asked dispossessed people to be patient. All I'm doing is pointing out what I believe to be the objective situation in which we operate.

The implication is that we have to find more successful strategies for bringing about political change. I am under no illusion whatsoever that this is a very formidable task and that the road ahead is a very long and arduous one, which is going to demand enormous staying power and colossal resources of energy.

There are, however, a number of encouraging signs, the importance of which should no more be overlooked than they should be romanticized.

The first is the great change that has taken place in the field of industrial relations. When I started as a labour reporter on the Financial Mail 10½ years ago, at the time of the wildcat strikes in Durban, the idea of black trade unions was anathema to the government and to 99 out of 100 businessmen. Now we find that we have a strong and resilient black trade union movement that has survived in spite of bannings and harassment.

matically liberal democracy. What it is doing is creating new social pressures, such as an increasing need for a stable labour force in the urban areas.

This is already making it increasingly difficult for business to ignore the detrimental effects of influx control on their operations and to spend very much more money than in the past on housing and education.

Two key business leaders, Gavin Relly and Mike Rosholt, have recently made very significant speeches about the need for a more realistic urbanization policy than we have at

(305) CAPE Times 25/10/83

'Encouraging signs' of change in SA

THE editor of Race Relations News, Mr Theo Coggin, recently interviewed the institute's new director, Mr John Kane-Berman. The interview is reprinted here.

COGGIN: The period of change which South Africa is experiencing at present, highlighted by the proposed new constitution, has created a new level of debate and much confusion. How can the institute effectively present its case for a different kind of society?

KANE-BERMAN: We can help overcome confusion by publishing the objective, dispassionate high-quality research for which we are all well known. The institute's particular liberal viewpoint and its vision of an undivided society have never been simply a question of the particular political preferences of our membership or leadership. They have always been based on factual information and methodical research.

For example, we were able to warn urgently in May/June, 1976, about the tension building up in schools in Soweto. Telegrams were sent to MPs and other efforts made to warn the government and the country at large. We were able to do this because we had always kept ourselves informed about black education and had kept in touch with people in Soweto and other black areas.

We have two main things to contribute to the present debate. First, we must constantly hold out to South

tic urbanization policy — one that accepts urbanization as an irreversible phenomenon of industrial society, in contrast to present policies, which are based on the impractical assumption that somehow urbanization can be stopped.

The plight of hundreds of thousands of people in rural areas who are victims of forced removals. Their situation is worsened by tighter influx control, rising unemployment, serious overcrowding of land, and a very severe food and water shortage. All these problems are now exacerbated by the drought.

One of the most important things that my predecessor, Mr John Rees, did, was to set up the Operation Hunger campaign and many South Africans of all classes, colours and income levels have contributed generously to this vitally important programme of relief.

One of the functions of the institute now is to point out that when, and if, the drought is broken, the situation of people in rural areas will still be pretty desperate. It will be important to point out to the authorities and to business that any policy for urban people cannot be expected to work if it ignores the plight of rural people, who suffer the



Mr John Kane-Berman, the new director of the Institute for Race Relations

as the National Party.

Decades of impassioned pleas to the government by conciliatory leaders like Chief Albert Luthuli fell on deaf ears, and it was in this context that some people took the decision to turn to violent methods, as organizations committed to peaceful change had failed.

However, while we must remember that background, a number of other points about violence also need to be made.

Firstly, it is morally objectionable.

Secondly, it is a strategy which I believe cannot work. In my view, it is unrealistic to assume that a kind of domino theory is at work in Southern Africa according to which minority rule in South Africa will be toppled by violence in the same way that it was eventually brought down in other countries in the region.

South Africa is very much more powerful

slow process of attrition rather than by full-scale revolution, is holding out false hope.

We should also remember that if there were ever a violent revolution in South Africa, the destruction which would be caused to the economy and to our whole social fabric would be such that any government coming to power in that way would find itself with almost insurmountable problems of poverty, homelessness and unemployment.

We have seen in Northern Ireland, where there is a much higher level of violence than here, that a society can learn to live with such violence for decades with its government still in power.

COGGIN: Many would say that your asking for dispossessed people to be very patient is unrealistic.

KANE-BERMAN: I am not asking anybody to be patient. As a member

see being used by them to achieve the objective of an undivided society?

KANE-BERMAN: Potential bargaining power is accruing to black people on a continuing basis. Their penetration into increasingly skilled jobs in every sector of the economy is giving them a scarcity value. As a result of this, the trade union movement will, in due course, find itself in a strategic position.

The trade union movement has shown the ability to make use of its bargaining power to achieve visible gains for their members that are also in the interests of the country as a whole, because sound industrial relations depends on having mechanisms for negotiation and for institutionalizing conflict.

This increasing unionization will in due course enable the black unions to push for the abolition of the colour bar on the mines. I have no doubt that sooner or later the National Union of Mineworkers will begin to exert pressure with regard to the migrant labour system as well.

The higher the rate of economic growth, the greater the extent to which black spending power will increase and black advancement into skilled jobs take place.

COGGIN: Do you see economic growth as inevitably leading to change?

KANE-BERMAN: I am not one of those who believe that economic

present.

SA will increasingly find that the government's separatist political policies are out of step with economic developments which are making continuing economic integration inevitable. For example, when black workers were mostly employed in unskilled jobs and whites in skilled jobs, the fact that only white workers had the vote was not a problem for business.

But we are now seeing increased integration in the labour force. And we now, for the first time in SA's history, have a number of well organized and democratic trade unions that include so-called coloured people and Indians, as well as Africans.

The fact that so-called coloured and Indian members of those unions are now being enfranchised under the new constitution but Africans left out, must inevitably lead to tensions and pressures that will eventually cause the business sector to exert growing pressure on the government to incorporate Africans into central political structures.

'Yes' reformers will see trust betrayed

CAPE TIMES 28/10/83 2084 305

Excerpts from an address on the new constitution by JOHN KANE-BERMAN, recently appointed Director of the South African Institute of Race Relations, at a public meeting in Cape Town yesterday

IF THIS constitution were a company prospectus taken along to the Johannesburg Stock Exchange committee for approval before the company were listed and the public invited to buy shares in it, is there any chance the JSE committee would say:

"Well, this prospectus is fatally flawed, it is an abortion, it is totally unsatisfactory, but it is a step in the right direction and maybe the board of directors has a hidden agenda that we do not know about, so let's give this company a listing and invite the public to invest their money in it?"

If the JSE did that, every financial newspaper in town would be baying for its blood.

One of the proposals put forward with regard to the referendum is that some of those who are privileged to be voting in it but are facing a dilemma about casting a clear "yes" or "no" should spoil their ballot papers.

Affects all

While sympathetic to those who are in a dilemma, I nevertheless feel that to spoil one's ballot paper is an excessively fastidious approach. Either this constitution is going to come into operation or it is not. That is the only choice facing voters on November 2.

Whether or not the constitution is finally imposed on the country affects millions of people, the great majority of whom have no say on the issue. It seems to me that those who will be voting have a responsibility to decide clearly one way or the other.

Spoilt papers in this context will serve no purpose other than to invite derision from the government. I believe in fact that to spoil a ballot paper when so grave a choice is facing not only the electorate but the country as a whole, is a form of political dilettantism.

I also want to refer to the recent remarks of the Minister of Community Development, Mr Pen Kotze, about Indians and coloured people living in the Johannesburg suburb of Mayfair. He said that "these people did not live in the sky before they infiltrated Mayfair. They can go back where they came from."

At a public meeting at the end of last week the Prime Minister effectively endorsed Mr Kotze's obviously offensive remarks by saying that he wanted to "refer with honour" to Mr Pen Kotze. Of course, Mr Botha has himself repeatedly made it clear ever since he became Prime Minister that he regards segregated residential areas as non-negotiable.

English-language newspapers that have been urging a "yes" vote have naturally found all this extremely embarrassing, and have now come down on Mr Kotze like a ton of bricks for his tactlessness, but they miss the point entirely.

Public service

Mr Kotze does not deserve to be made a scapegoat. He needs rather to be commended for performing a public service in spelling out with such frankness and honesty what the government's policy on the Group Areas Act has been ever since it was enacted in 1950, remains until this day, and is quite obviously going to be in the future.

After all, Mr Kotze himself announced in Parliament earlier this year that nearly 82 000 coloured families throughout South Africa had been removed under the Group Areas Act since its inception, along with nearly 40 000 Indian families and fewer than 2 400 white families.

He also stated in Parliament that nearly another 9 000 Indian and coloured families (and only 100 white families) were still to be removed.

It is far better that the voter should know before November 2 that the Government remains as firmly committed as ever to the enforcement of the Group Areas Act than that the fact of Group Areas removals should be glossed over by vague promises of the kind that we have come to expect from some of our ministers.



Mr Kane-Berman

Lest anyone should be seduced into believing that group areas removals are going to go out of the window with the 1910 constitution, Mr Kotze has been honest enough to tell us in brutally plain language that the leopard is not about to change his spots.

Attacking Mr Kotze for being tactless or undiplomatic or insensitive is really introducing a red herring. The point at issue is not the tactlessness of a minister but the continued enforcement by the government of this nasty piece of legislation in spite of all its talk of reform.

English-language newspapers that accuse Mr Kotze of blundering are evading the issue when they suggest that he should now be dismissed. Why should a minister be dismissed when he simply spells out what the policy of the Government is?

These newspapers, instead of calling for Mr Kotze's dismissal, should rather be reconsidering their own stance on the referendum and whether they can still justify their calls for a "yes" vote.

It seems to me that voting "yes" to this constitution, in the light of this total onslaught against the squatters, in the hopes that somehow this policy will change after November 2 because of some "hidden agenda" that the Prime Minster has in his bottom drawer, is rather like being in favour of unilateral disarmament — it requires too great a leap of faith.

The argument used against the unilateral disarmers is that they place too much trust in the Soviet Union; however well-intentioned they may be, they are accused of being rather naive.

I think the same applies to many genuinely reform-minded people who do not normally support the National Party, but are nevertheless willing to endorse its constitution in the hopes that the leopard is going to change his spots.

Urban blacks

It seems that many such people are pinning their hopes on the cabinet committee that the government announced earlier this year would be looking into the question of urban blacks.

Ministers have referred to this committee on several occasions during the referendum campaign in their efforts to persuade anxious businessmen and others that the question of black political rights is not being overlooked.

But we need to look a little more closely at this committee. When he announced it in Parliament on February 1 this year, the Prime Minsiter made it clear that it would act according to what he called "the principles of the government of the day".

In the same debate Dr Koornhof referred to the "irreversible momentum" of constitutional development regarding Africans and stated that the Government's objectives in this regard were "very clear". He went on:

"The government remains convinced, and it is at all times its primary objective, that the optimum form of self-determination for the black peoples is the gaining of independence in their own territory." In other words, denationalization.

I believe that all those people now placing faith in this cabinet committee and in the Prime Minister's talk of a "new and imaginative" deal for Africans are not taking sufficient account of the broad direction of policy regarding Africans, and are likely to be disappointed at the extremely limited scope of the "reforms" that will emerge from the cabinet committee.

Relentless

I believe also that if they endorse the constitution they will find out in the very near future that the trust they are willing to place in the Government, in spite of its track record and its proclaimed intentions, has been betrayed.

They will see it relentlessly continuing not only with denationalization, but also with all the other policies — mass population removals, ever-tightening influx control, squatter deportations, and of course Group Areas evictions — that businessmen and others know will ultimately destabilize the country.

During the last few years businessmen in various parts of the country have been responding in a constructive manner to the challenge of black trade unions. In spite of many teething troubles, we have seen begin to emerge a workmanlike relationship in which trust and respect play a role on both sides.

I believe that one of the great dangers of a "yes" vote is that it may undermine that trust, and that the damage to black/white relations that may be done in our factories will not be confined to them, but will spread beyond to black/white relations in the society at large.

100 years ago

Book review — Page 11

McLachlan, Punch

Only S Africans can change political scene

305
9/2/83 Star

MR JOHN KANE-BERMAN, Director of the SA Institute of Race Relations, spoke to a Natal branch of the SA Institute of International Affairs on the use of sanctions to induce political change in South Africa. This is an extract from his speech.

As far as internal change goes, foreign leverage over Pretoria, even American leverage, is limited and cannot be expected to work miracles.

Change will come about in this country only if we South Africans succeed in bringing it about. Probably the most that outsiders can do is to play a supportive role.

The extreme alternative to constructive engagement — mandatory overall sanctions applied against South Africa by the UN Security Council — is not a realistic option for any Western government.

We do not have enough firm evidence to decide whether the tougher public approach adopted during the Carter years is more effective against Pretoria than the milder public approach of the present American Government.

I do, however, believe that there are a number of counter-productive consequences of embargoes.

An American official, Mr Princeton Lyman, thus put an interesting question some months ago when he asked: "What ... has been the effect of trade controls on internal change in South Africa?" His answer was as follows:

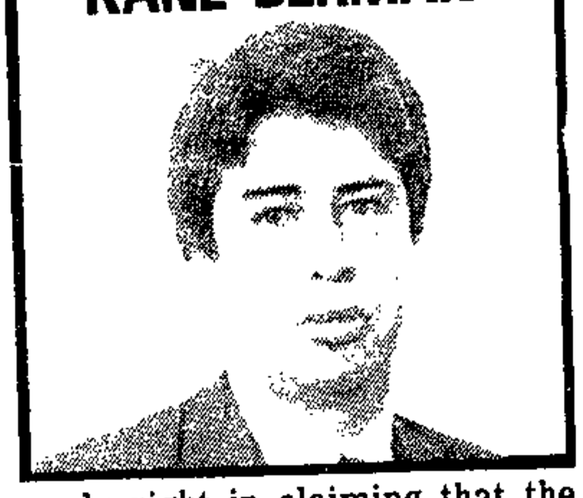
- "Over the course of the past 20 years South Africa has developed the world's 10th largest arms industry and is now becoming an exporter of arms.
- "Over the course of the past 10 years South Africa has become a world leader in synthetic fuel production.
- "Over the course of the past five years South Africa has made giant strides towards nuclear self-sufficiency as regards the production and fabrication of low-enriched uranium.

"The logic of this sequence does not lead to the conclusion that all controls should be abolished ... The criteria should be the impact these controls have on events in the country.

"The record shows that controls have encouraged greater self-sufficiency, and that they have not in themselves been sufficient to encourage a process of change."

As an official in the Reagan Administration, Mr Lyman is obviously an interested party, but he is

MY VIEW
by JOHN KANE-BERMAN



surely right in claiming that the trade controls he refers to have not produced change.

I am well aware that the view has been put forward that blacks are suffering already under apartheid and are willing to suffer even more if that is the price that has to be paid for bringing it to an end.

But two things need to be said about the "blacks are willing to suffer more" school of thought.

The one is that it is willing to gamble people's jobs on what is after all no more than a possibility that economic sanctions will succeed in ending apartheid.

The other is that, whatever might have been the case in the past, today I have yet to hear the argument put forward by black people who are unemployed or stand to risk losing their jobs as a result of disinvestment or sanctions.

I have also yet to hear it advanced by anyone, black or white, who can demonstrate that he or she actually has a mandate from even a sizeable minority of black people to advocate such a policy.

I would like to mention two other effects of sanctions, or arguments for them, that may be negative.

One is that the higher the level of unemployment, the weaker the bargaining power of the black union movement in that strikers can more readily be dismissed and replaced by freshly requisitioned workers.

Since industrial muscle-power is the most powerful potential non-violent weapon that black people in this country have, I don't believe anything should be done to weaken it.

Secondly, I wonder if the pro-sanctions lobbies are not perhaps counter-productive in another way: if they encourage false expectations as to how much the outside world is actually likely to do in bringing pressure to bear on Pretoria.

Dr Oscar Dhlomo, Minister of Education and Culture in the kwaZulu Administration and Secretary General of Inkatha, once wrote: "We have learned through bitter political experience that Western governments (or any government for that matter) can only serve as peripheral, though sometimes useful, pressure groups in our struggle for liberation.

"The struggle will be won or lost here in South Africa and it is the input from South Africans themselves that will be decisive."

The internal struggle against apartheid has so far been a failure — certainly as far as political rights go.

It is perhaps understandable that people should turn to beseeching the outside world for help. But the campaign inside the country has to go on.

FM 6/1/84

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ORGANISATIONS

SAIRR revamp

The SA Institute of Race Relations (SAIRR) appears set to become a trimmer and more efficient organisation after floundering for a time after the resignation of its former director, John Rees. A wide-ranging programme to review the activities and organisation of the institute is now under way.

Newly-appointed director John Kane-Berman tells the *FM* that the institute has been taking a long, hard look at itself with the help of a professional management consultant whose services were made available by the Urban Foundation. By the end of this month its direction should be clear.

"The reason is that we have tended to drift and take on all kinds of responsibilities and activities without having a clear idea as to what we should be doing and how we should finance ourselves. We would like to shift from being a worthy cause to being an organisation that is doing something useful in tackling the many problems facing this country in a constructive way," says Kane-Berman.

A critical area is finance. The SAIRR's main sources of funding are subscriptions from its 4 700 members and corporate donations. But these do not cover all expenses and the institute has been running at a deficit for the last few years. Now the point has been reached where the deficit is in excess of 15% of expenditure. Describing this as "unacceptably high", Kane-Berman says he has taken steps to trim spending and estimates that for the year ending March 31 the institute's expenditure will be R755 000. This will compare favourably with the R806 000 spent in the year ended March 31 1983.

In broad terms the institute's activities at present involve research and the dissemination of information, the administration of a bursary fund for black students, management of the Operation Hunger rural feeding scheme, and the running of six craft shops located at regional branches.

Operation Hunger and the bursary scheme are certain to continue as long term projects. But the six craft shops face closure unless they can be made to show a profit.

Kane-Berman is keen to place greater emphasis on research. "Research is our traditional area of activity and we should concentrate on what we are good at. Our priority is to expand this department so that the institute will be able to respond to particular issues and do quality research. But we are not a university. We don't believe in doing research for its own sake. It must have a useful purpose," he says.

Task forces

To facilitate research the institute plans to get together "task forces" to tackle specific issues. "There are a number of subjects which the institute will have to examine and gear ourselves towards making policy recommendations and decisions about. We will use the task forces to look at these and if necessary bring in experts from the outside," says Kane-Berman.

Assigments scheduled for task force treatment are the forthcoming "independence" of KwaNdebele; Kayelitsha the new black township planned for Cape Town; the Cabinet Committee on Urban Blacks; removals; and a rewrite of the book *Bantu Education to 1968* to present up-to-date information on black education.

Kane-Berman is also planning on introducing a new category of corporate membership. This membership, he says, will be open to companies and institutions at a reasonable fee in return for which the institute will offer certain services in addition to its normal publications. This will include statistical and research material, papers, speeches and reports. "We will select subjects which we think will interest to our corporate members and also organise private briefings on topical issue for them," he says.

The institute will continue to produce its annual *Survey of Race Relations*.

Financial Mail January 6 1984

...powerful rocket that's ever used to launch a 12-man Mars." — Sapa-Reuter.

R50 000 grant for starving KwaZulu children

By PAT SIDLEY
Consumer Mail

OPERATION HUNGER, the SA Institute of Race Relations' (SAIRR) programme which helps to alleviate the effects of the drought, has handed over a cheque for R50 000 to the Natal Red Cross for its KwaZulu feeding programmes.

Highlighting the need for assistance, Mrs Inka Mars, who accepted the cheque on behalf of the Red Cross, said R17 000 to R20 000 a month was needed to help feed children.

This sum would feed 85 000 children a day with one cup of fortified soup.

Quoting Stellenbosch University research figures, Mrs Ina Perlman, manager of Operation Hunger, said about 2 900 000 children under 15 years in South Africa were malnourished.

The minimum cash income for a black family of five to merely survive had been calculated at R86 a month but the average family, according to research, was bringing in only R55 a month.

Both Mrs Perlman and Mrs Mars stressed that their programmes were not "a case of perpetuating handouts". Assisted rural communities generated their own self-help programmes.

The drought had dramatised a situation of which people were not fully aware, Mrs Mars said. It served to illustrate the disadvantages rural communities suffered.

The drop-out rate in schools among black rural children was particularly worrying. Malnourished children were not able to concentrate and learn and hard times kept children out of school.

The director of the SAIRR, Mr John Kane-Berman, said the institute had become increasingly concerned that rural areas and their problems had "slipped from public consciousness".

The public was aware to some extent of the difference in Government per capita education spending on black and white children in urban areas. Although this gap was narrowing, in homelands and rural areas the gap had widened.

"People are confined to homelands by influx control and migrant labour regulations," he said.



Mrs Inka Mars of the Natal Red Cross, left, accepts a cheque for R50 000 from Mrs Ina Perlman of Operation Hunger. Picture: GLENN MIDDLETON

building until mid-February.

turn it and put money in your pocket. Read Bread and Butter Brief in EVE tomorrow.

Also in this issue is a profile of the South African-born woman who has charted the rise and fall of the PLO; the start of a new series on working mothers and quick but tasty recipes.

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SAIRR needs new strategy — manager

31/1/84

EAST LONDON — The South African Institute of Race Relations (SAIRR) faces bankruptcy if it doesn't redefine it s objectives and adopt a new strategy, Mrs Roselle Frasca, regional manager of the Border branch of the SAIRR, said here yesterday.

Mrs Frasca, who attended the national council meeting of the SAIRR in Johannesburg last week, said that although tight financial situations were commonplace in non-profit making organisations, the situation in the SAIRR was acute.

"Our national president, Mr John Kane-Berman, has made great inroads into the Johannesburg business community and has received substantial backing from Mr Harry Oppenheimer.

"Relating to his success, a strategic planning committee has formulated a policy whereby the SAIRR will look for more internal funding with particular emphasis on the business and industrial communities," Mrs Frasca said.

Members would also be asked to provide more financial support and in return the SAIRR would be offering more specific services.

The annual race relations survey would be expanded and upgraded and research departments in the regions would be offering a specific service to businesses and organisations.

Research projects undertaken would have to fall within the parameters of the institute's established goals and would be funded by the organisation concerned.

"The SAIRR sees itself as becoming more research-orientated but the research will not be purely academic. Projects will be related to current issues and aimed at eliciting a response from authorities and the community," Mrs Frasca said.

The SAIRR had elected to place less emphasis on overseas funding because it felt that the institute was a South African organisation offering a service to all people in Southern Africa and as such should be supported in the main by the people of that region.

The committee had created two new categories of membership, one being a corporate membership which would be available to businesses. The terms of the membership would offer practical aid to businessmen in the form of briefings on such subjects as labour relations and current issues relevant to industry.

"There has been considerable interest in this scheme expressed by the Johannesburg business community and it is hoped to launch the scheme in the Border region within the next few months," Mrs Frasca said.

Mr M. Orkin, a former senior lecturer at the University of the Witwatersrand, has been appointed deputy director of the SAIRR. — DDR

Cape Times 29/2/84

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Bursaries help many to succeed

Staff Reporter

SEDICK DAVIS, 19, of Retreat, one of more than 60 students who were helped in their studies last year by the Cape Times Bursary Fund, started the second year of his electrical engineering degree course at the University of Cape Town this week.

He is one of the many Cape Times' bursars, studying a wide spectrum of subjects, who passed their examinations in 1983 and who are now taking a further step towards their academic goals — at universities, technikons and other institutions of higher education.

A spokesman for the bursary department of the SA Institute of Race Relations, whose experience and expertise in this field have been put at the fund's disposal, said yesterday that successful examination results had ensured the renewal of a large number of 1983 Cape Times bursaries, for 1984.

'Exciting'

And new bursaries for the current academic year were now being allocated, she added.

In an interview at the weekend, Sedick Davis said the experience of being at university had proved exciting — "but it's a totally different world from school, where everyone just breezes through".

EDUCATE FOR THE FUTURE
The Cape Times BURSARY FUND



Sedick Davis

Raring to get stuck into engineering itself, Sedick, the son of a school principal at Mitchells Plain, said he had been a "little disappointed" that the first year was largely like first-year BSc.

"But having passed all my first-year exams, I now feel I'm beginning to belong in the faculty and I'm looking forward to what this year holds."

Sedick hopes one day to work with electricity generation — "but at this stage I can't really say such a thing because I have several more years of study before I specialise," he said.

In his determined efforts to achieve his goal, Sedick has taken computer science as one of his course options this year.

Because of his full curriculum, he says he is only able to take part-time work on occasional Saturdays; thus any financial assistance with his fees is "very much appreciated".

● The Cape Times Bursary Fund was formally registered recently with the Department of Finance as an educational trust, and this means donations made to the fund are now tax-deductible.

R1m target

The fund was launched with an initial target of R1-million in April 1982, against the background of an acute shortage of skilled manpower in South Africa and to help students to further their studies.

Donations totalling more than R650 000 have been received so far.

● Further contributions should be sent to:

The Cape Times Bursary Fund
PO Box 11
Cape Town, 8000

Masazane faces closure

D. Dispatch 7/3/84

305

EAST LONDON — The Masazane Open School here is facing closure as a result of a withdrawal of sponsorship by the South African Institute of Race Relations.

The chairman of Masazane, Miss Ntombazana Botha, said yesterday the institute had informed the school that it would have to vacate its Argyle Street premises at the end of the month.

The institute, she said,had indicated that the project was no longer "viable".

However, the assistant national director of the institute, Mrs Sylvia Gon, said from Johannesburg yesterday a possibility existed that the Border branch of Race Relations might take over the administration of the project "if the Masazane committee wanted it".

Masazane, which has been offering cultural and educational programmes directed mainly at the youth of all races for the past five years, is run under the auspices of Race Relations and administered on a national level by the institute.

Mrs Gon said the institute experienced difficulties in maintaining administrative control over Masazane from Johannesburg and would prefer to transfer it to a local body.

She said the Masazane committee had been offered the opportunity to work under the Border branch of the institute, but it appeared "they wanted to go it alone".

Miss Botha said the institute's decision, which had been conveyed to the committee only on February 1, came as a shock to students.

The committee, she said, was particularly disappointed about the lack of sufficient notification.

"If they told us in December we could have made alternative arrangements. Now we have set high hopes for 82 students whom we have promised to assist through their end of the year exams."

Eighty-two matric students, who for various reasons have not been accepted at schools this year, have enrolled for Joint Matriculation Board examinations and attend a morning tuition programme at Masazane.

Miss Botha said Masazane's closure would be a blow to the East London community as a whole as it offered a variety of programmes and facilities that were not available elsewhere in the area.

She said a recent meeting of parents had decided to approach the Border branch of the institute for assistance in keeping the programme going in the short-term.

A delegation of parents would also approach the Border Council of Churches with a view to long-term sponsorship.

The regional manager of the institute, Mrs Roselle Frasca, said while she could not comment on the decision of the national body, she felt the termination of the Masazane programmes would be a loss to the area.

"I would like to see the programme survive. It will be terribly sad to see it going."

She said if the Masazane committee were to approach the regional branch of the institute it would certainly assist where possible.

Mrs Gon indicated yesterday that the 82 students attending classes at Masazane would not "be left in the lurch" by the institute.

"We want the school to continue and we are certainly sympathetic towards it," she said adding, however, that the institute was in "dire financial straits".

CAPE Times 7/6/84

Libralism in SA 'faces a crisis'

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Staff Reporter

LIBERALISM in South Africa was not irrelevant but it was true that it faced a crisis, the director of the South African Institute of Race Relations, Mr John Kane-Berman, said last night.

Addressing the institute's Cape Western region's annual general meeting at Mowbray Town Hall, he said a society structured on liberal principles was the most desirable kind of society.

The institute faced the crisis facing liberalism in common with all organizations opposed to apartheid.

"Quite apart from any moral considerations, I don't believe that this society is likely to be changed by revolutionary violence. The forces of law and order are far too powerful.

"The Nkomati Accord, and South Africa's developing detente with neighbouring states, are no more than a formal and public recognition of what I believe most of these countries have known privately all along: That South Africa is not going to be changed by guerilla war or insurrection," Mr Kane-Berman said.

On the institute's future strategy, he said it was one of those organizations trying to change white attitudes. "But, unfortunately, most whites are conservative."

The institute had in recent years become more of a "confederation of charitable projects" and less of an essentially research organization. Attempts were being made to restore research to its central role in the institute.

NATIONAL

Argus 7/6/84 305

Inflation threatens SA Race Institute

Staff Reporter

THE South African Institute of Race Relations (SAIRR) is in a "critical financial position".

The organisation has called in a management consultant and has begun to streamline its activities to keep itself afloat.

This was said last night by its director, Mr John Kane-Berman, at the institute's annual meeting.

Yearbook

The SAIRR is a pioneer of research and documentation and each year publishes the authoritative Race Relations Yearbook.

Mr Kane-Berman said that since its inception in 1929 the SAIRR had operated on a shoestring budget, but in the past few years its financial position had worsened steadily to the point that even reserves had been depleted.

He told the meeting: "In these inflationary times our expenditure has outstripped our income by a steadily increasing margin, with the result that we are now keeping afloat on a bank overdraft for which we had to reluctantly bond our head office building in Johannesburg.

Sound footing

"Our top priority is to put our finances on a sound footing to ensure our short-term survival, and in due course the expansion of our activities."

One of the "unpleasant steps" he had taken since becoming director was to stop funding a number of unprofitable arts and craft shops.

The management consultant had found that the organisation lacked a coherent financial strategy and was in danger of losing its direction.

He had suggested that a strategic planning committee be formed.

Mr Kane-Berman said the level of research, the SAIRR's major activity, had declined.

And the main reason for its financial crisis was that most of the organisation's energies had been ploughed into fund-raising for a bursary programme.

The executive committee had felt the focus and purpose of the SAIRR as a national organisation should be research and publications.

It recommended that all charitable programmes except Operation Hunger and the bursary administration department should be confined to its five regional offices.

The committee also recommended that the SAIRR adopt a policy statement to indicate unity of purpose and a commitment to give fresh impetus to its aims.

Mercury 27/7/84 (305)

Cash worry hitting race relations institute

Mercury Reporter

THE South African Institute of Race Relations is restructuring itself in order to keep its head above water financially, says institute president Prof Laurie Schlemmer.

Pressure on the institute to define a new role for itself in the changes taking place around it had come at an economically critical time.

Many people were looking at emergency financial measures.

The institute's branch offices, while continuing to exist, would have to become self-sufficient.

Prof Schlemmer told the Mercury that a new corporate membership scheme had been embarked upon in the past month and was showing positive results.

'We will offer businesses packages of information and briefings on various important issues in the race relations field in return for supporting us.'

The African Arts Centre in Durban and certain bursary trusts had already become autonomous, he said.

Speaking earlier at the Natal launch of the 1983 edition of the institute's *Survey of Race Relations in South Africa*, Prof Schlemmer said the institute had to define what it offered that other organisations did not or could not offer.

Best-placed

Unlike the 60s and 70s when the institute was alone in the work it did, it now found itself competing or working along with a multitude of different organisations.

'But in spite of the polarisation in the community, which is affecting all organisations, we believe the institute is still best-placed to communicate right across our fragmented community.'

The institute had become more orientated towards the business community.

'But I believe we have preserved the necessary sensitivity to the issues and struggles affecting marginal communities, which businesses have not been able to do.

'The institute will remain invaluable to the business community and the Government, and will also provide organisations working for change with a window into the establishment.'

SUNDAY TRIBUNE, JULY 29, 1984

622 000 blacks will be moved

That's the grim Survey finding

By ARLENE GETZ

THE people of Natal are more threatened by the grim spectre of removal than residents in any other province, according to the 1983 Survey of the Institute of Race Relations.

The Survey says a total of 622 000 Natalians are scheduled to be relocated in terms of the Government's separate development policy.

According to the annual survey, 300 000 of these people will be moved in terms of the Government's plan for KwaZulu's consolidation.

The 1983 Survey is the latest edition of what is regarded as one of the country's most informative political yearbooks.

A reference book widely praised for its objectivity, it covers an extensive range of topics relating to the socio-political events of the year.

The 1983 Survey deals with topics ranging from political organisations — covering such organisations as the extremist Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging to the activities of South African refugees and exiles in neighbouring countries — to sport and the church.

It records events surrounding last year's referendum on the new constitution, labour relations, social segregation, African removals, homeland affairs and security matters.

In its chapter on African removals, the survey points out that there are 14 Natal townships and three emergency camps under threat of removal.

The study also notes that last year was one of the country's most strike-prone since World War 2.

Workers downed tools 366 times in 1983, causing the loss of almost one million working hours.

About a third of these strikes were because of wage demands, with the Industrial Court assuming an increasingly important role in settling disputes.

"Membership of registered trade unions continued to increase and there was a particularly sharp in crease in the number of unions open to all races," said the survey.

Other points made in the survey are:

- The number of publicly-known detentions increased during 1983 by 159 percent in the "independent" homelands and 31 percent in South Africa but most banning orders were allowed to lapse;
- The severity of sentences in security trials increased with acts such as active membership of the ANC being regarded as high treason.

Sentences for the use of ANC symbols varied between three and eight years and participants in non-violent ANC activities were jailed for periods ranging from 18 months to seven years.

- South Africa's estimated population (including the 10 homelands) was 31,1 million in mid 1983, with 73,05 of it accounted for by Africans;
- The drought caused a decline of 21,8 percent in agricultural output;
- The racial classification of 722 people was changed from coloured to white while 109 people switched from African to coloured;
- Labour experts warned that South Africa lagged behind other countries regarding safety measures in asbestos factories;
- A series of attitude surveys conducted by the University of Natal's Professor Lawrence Schlemmer found 25 percent of whites were in favour of immediate, complete and unqualified integration of all beaches, while another 25 percent were willing to accept gradual and limited integration. The remaining 50 percent did not want integration of any kind;
- The Durban City Treasurer's Department — in a statement later disputed by the South African Indian Council — said there were 410 whites and 17 297 Indians on the council's housing list in May last year;
- A total of 317 703 applications for passports were refused last year. An application by former SA Council on Sport President Hassan Howa was refused for the eighth time while the application by Saths Cooper, vice-president of the Azanian Peoples Organisation, was refused for the seventh time since 1969.

Sowetan 17/8/84

Survey lashes homelands

By JOSHUA RABOROKO

BLACK trade unionists have been detained beaten, harassed and intimidated by police under various labour and security laws in the so-called homelands.

This view is expressed by the associate director of the South African Institute of Race Relations, Ms Carole Cooper, in a survey entitled "Homelands and Trade Unionism" released this week.

In the survey she says homelands have different labour legislation and security laws which they use to curtail the operations and movements of unions, especially those that have their base in South Africa.

Bophuthatswana, Ciskei and KwaZulu have so far experienced the most trade union activity, although unionism in those areas is still in its "embryonic stage."

Transkei and Venda have passed their own labour legislations which have categorically refused to accept trade union activity within their borders, thus making it virtually impossible for workers to hold legal strikes.

In Ciskei trade unionists have been detained and harassed in their hundreds, especially during the bus boycott in the territory. Among them are Mr Thozamile Gqweta and Mr Sisa Njikelane of the South African Allied Workers' Union (Saawu).

Both Bophuthatswana and Ciskei have banned unions in terms of the territories' laws. Saawu has been accused of having links with the African National Congress, although the union has refuted these claims.

The continued actions of these areas against the unions has made them gain strength and support, the report says.

The unions have rejected the policy of homelands and regard workers in those territories as citizens of South Africa.

The unions should continue to operate in the areas to improve workers' wages and working conditions.

— Sapa-Reuter

Don't block our funds — IRR

Staff Reporter

THE Institute of Race Relations has appealed to the Nationalist-controlled Cape Provincial Administration to stop blocking municipal donations of badly needed funds.

In a statement yesterday the institute's Western Cape Region said the Cape Town City Council was prepared to give the institute a R5 000 grant but could not get provincial permission for the donation.

The provincial executive had refused in March this year to rescind its 1978 decision that the Institute of Race Relations was not a body to which local authorities could make grants.

Until 1978, the Cape Town City Council and other Cape local authorities made regular grants to the institute.

The statement said the executive member in charge of local government, Mr Hernus Kriel, had stated in March that the institute's "aims" had not changed since 1978, although he did not specify what these "aims" were.

"It is difficult to resist the conclusion that the Institute of Race Relations is the victim of discrimination based solely on political considerations.

'Tainted'

"It is being prevented from receiving a much-needed grant from the Cape Town City Council because the Administrator-in-executive committee believes that its aims are politically tainted, without providing a jot or tittle of evidence to support this contention.

"To the institute this seems unfair and undemocratic.

"We believe we should receive the grant as before. The money concerned is raised from the general public and we make a substantial contribution to its welfare."

'Foster peace'

The institute said it had consistently pointed out to the provincial executive that it was an independent body without political affiliation. Its main object was to "encourage, work for and foster peace, goodwill and practical co-operation".

The institute also administers trusts and provides money for tertiary and other education from which some 400 Western Cape individuals benefited, and runs enrichment classes out of school hours for pupils needing extra tuition.

US threat to Race Institute's bursaries

21/9/84 (305) C-Times

From SIMON BARBER

WASHINGTON. — A dispute between congressional Democrats and the Reagan administration over the "credibility" of the South African Institute for Race Relations is threatening to end a R5-million internal scholarship programme for black South Africa students.

The State Department Agency for International Development (AID) picked the institute to administer the project, which was designed to place 70 to 75 bursary recipients in the South African universities of their choice at the start of the coming academic year.

Mr Howard Wolpe, chairman of the House Africa sub-commitee, and Mr Julian Dixon, a prominent member of the House Appropriations Committee and head of the congressional black caucus, are blocking the funds. They claim that the selection of institute is opposed by Bishop Desmond Tutu, Dr Nthato Motlana and other black leaders.

Administration and other involved sources question that assertion.

The row is coming to a head because unless the money is released by September 30, it will be disbursed elsewhere.

Mr Wolpe and his staff are particularly concerned that institute's director, Mr John Kane Berman, is "too close to (Chief Gatsha) Buthelezi and Inkatha".

They cite Mr Kane Berman's recent profile of Chief Buthelezi published in Anglo American's Optima magazine.

Percy Qoboza

They are demanding that the institute's role be taken by the Equal Opportunities Commission (EOC), the South African Committee on Higher Education (SACHED) and the trust fund for Christian Outreach, or a consortium combining these and other groups.

Among those trying to change Mr Wolpe's mind is Mr Percy Qoboza, the prominent black journalist, who is in Washington this week and intends to enlist the support of Senator Edward Kennedy.

Senator Nancy Kassebaum, chairman of the Senate Africa sub-committee, is also said to be against Mr Wolpe's intransigence.

Agency officials this week said that they had selected the institute because neither EOC nor SACHED have operating university scholarship programmes".

Another factor is that the programme only reached the responsible congressional committees in July, just six months before the beneficiaries would be due to enter university.

"The US government has to be assured that such projects have adequate financing and management provisions. You can't just put an administering consortium together overnight," an official said.

AID is still negotiating with Mr Wolpe, but is "not optimistic" that a settlement can be reached before the deadline.

If the September 30 deadline is unmet, AID will likely try again next year, but it will mean that the earliest benefits will not begin to be felt before 1986.

Said one of Mr Wolpe's advisers: "Frankly, we would prefer to get a good programme next year than sign off on this one now."

FAMINE RELIEF

Lack of control

The need for tight control and clear focus of the efforts of famine relief agencies has been underscored by the appalling experience of SA's own Operation Hunger.

The agency, formerly directed by workers of the SA Institute of Race Relations, piled up debts of R1,5m seemingly without realising it. Some leading businessmen, with the assistance of a local radio station, have taken over the project and launched a rescue operation, first to liquidate accumulated debt, and second to resume desperately needed famine relief. Most important, they have pledged continued support, both in terms of wherewithal and management expertise.

The continued involvement of the creditors, which include SA's largest trading

Continued on page 51



Hunger's King . . . ordered a stop to food buying

companies, is crucial to the credibility of Operation Hunger, since public donors who gave so generously last week were not told beforehand of the agency's huge accumulated debts.

The new management team denies that Operation Hunger fell on hard times because of poor control. Under the circumstances, that is the charitable thing to say. What they do admit is that there was "possibly some over-zealousness" on the part of staff at the Institute of Race Relations.

Although under new, and undoubtedly expert, direction, Operation Hunger retains Ina Perlman as executive manager — although in future her efforts are likely to be directed largely at public relations, "at which she is best," says one of the new management team.

Operation Hunger fulfils a great need. It provides emergency feeding for 600 000 people in the rural areas. The size of the problem, exacerbated by the drought, is one of the major causes of the agency's troubles — with staff ignoring growing debts in order to meet the desperate demand for food.

Even now Perlman feels more should be spent. She says: "We should be feeding at least another 200 000/month, but the money is just not there."

Huge commitments

While it was an agency of the Institute of Race Relations, Operation Hunger incurred huge commitments, seemingly in the hope that donations would eventually cover the debts. But the magnitude of the human problem outstripped even the generous donations that were forthcoming.

The crunch came in September, when the agency and the institute parted company, some say amid great tension.

Kirsh Trading's Mervyn King was asked to take over as chairman, and he immediately called for an audit. An investigation revealed that deficit spending had landed Operation Hunger R1,5m in the red. The major creditors were Premier Group and Tiger Oats, both of which had supplied the agency with basic food at sharply discounted prices. Tiger also supplied transport. As a result of the audit, King suspended food purchases until the debt could be covered.

Tiger and Premier are now active partners in the rescue operation and have seconded executive directors to ensure professional management. Tiger has delegated Johnny Frankel to head the Business Action Committee while Premier's Peter Wrighton becomes a trustee.

The project is reinforced by Tiger's own Induna Feeding Scheme, which has been running for three years.

The new management team under King should be more effective, and certainly more businesslike, than their well-meaning predecessors. The appointment of a board of trustees, whose membership includes Pick 'n Pay's Raymond Ackerman and Barlow Rand's Warren Clewlow, will strengthen the operation.

The springboard for the rescue mission was Radio 702's 24-hour fundraising telethon, which resulted in more that R840 000 being pledged. When the US government pledge to contribute R1 to every R3 raised in SA (with a ceiling of R400 000) is taken into account, Operation Hunger's debts are already close to being covered.

Paying off debts does little to put food in the mouths of the hungry. King and Frankel are, however, confident that they will be able to raise funds to maintain operations. Business is being approached at a high level, with the possibility of some individual contributions of R100 000 being mentioned.

In addition, it is hoped that government will contribute — possibly on a rand-for-rand basis. Talks are known to have been held with government representatives, who are said to be sympathetic to the idea. "We believe government must now play a part," says King. "Charity must begin in SA."

OPERATION HUNGER

(305) FM 16/11/84

In a joint s[illegible]tement, chairman of Operation Hunger Mervyn King and director of the SA Institute of Race Relations (SAIRR) John Kane-Berman have pointed out that, contrary to the *FM* report of November 9 1984, the public was widely informed on October 26, before the recent appeal, that Operation Hunger had an accumulated deficit of R1,5m.

King and Kane-Berman categorically reject allegations that the SAIRR or Operation Hunger's new management committee were to blame for the deficit. Neither had been kept informed of the scale of purchases. On the basis of previous success with fundraising, the staff of Operation Hunger had been prepared to incur debt to suppliers, who were generously willing to grant credit. This was because the alternative for a great many people would have been starvation.

When an audit revealed that expenditure was exceeding income by too great a margin, food purchases were immediately suspended and a public appeal undertaken.

Operation Hunger was split from the SAIRR according to the institute's policy of allowing projects initiated by the SAIRR to grow into separate organisations. King and Kane-Berman say the severance was agreed upon in April, and they had had close contact while completing the legal and financial formalities.

King announced that any deficit has been eradicated, and that the work of Operation Hunger, which he described as vital to the country, would continue. Kane-Berman said the SAIRR was proud to have initiated the project, and was confident it would grow from strength to strength.

Govt is urged to remove political bans

STAR 21/8/86

305

By Jo-Anne Collinge

A call to lift the ban on the African National Congress and other black political organisations has been made by the South African Institute of Race Relations (SAIRR).

The call is contained in an SAIRR council resolution copies of which were sent to President Botha and to the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Louis le Grange, this week together with a background paper explaining the initiative.

The SAIRR also calls for amnesty for leaders "serving prison sentences for essentially political offences" and freedom for political exiles to return home "subject to their renunciation of violence".

The resolution refers to the ANC and the Pan-Africanist Congress which were banned in 1960 after the Sharpeville shootings. Seventeen Black Consciousness organisations were also banned in 1977 after countrywide disturbances which started in June 1976.

The lifting of organisational bans and the freeing of leaders are seen by the SAIRR as the kind of "dramatic demonstration of good faith on the part of white people" needed to halt the deterioration in race relations.

"In the view of the institute the bannings were not only incompatible with democratic norms but have proved futile. Far from putting a stop to public demonstrations against apartheid they have helped make violent a greater proportion of anti-apartheid action," says the background paper.

The SAIRR states clearly that a revocation of the bans would not, in itself, solve problems in education, local government and other areas of grievance.

"But it is an unavoidable prerequisite for creating a climate in which it might be possible to talk about solutions."

The institute insists that the ultimate cause of the current tension and unrest is the apartheid policy and that it is up to the Government to make the first move in defusing the situation.

The background paper states that South Africa is not on the brink of revolution and that the present unrest endangers racial goodwill rather than the security of the State.

But it adds: "No legitimate and lasting solution to South Africa's problems can be found outside structural political change or without some sort of national constitutional conference. Sooner or later the pressure for such a conference will no longer be avoidable."

JOHN KANE-BERMAN

Why the Institute spoke



On September 8 the council of the SA Institute of Race Relations adopted a resolution calling on government to revoke banning orders served on black political organisations in 1960 and 1977. Institute director John Kane-Berman explains the background.

In the view of the institute, the bannings of the ANC and the PAC in 1960 and 17 "black consciousness" organisations in 1977 were not only incompatible with democratic norms, but have proved futile. Far from putting a stop to public demonstrations against apartheid, they have helped make a greater proportion of anti-apartheid action violent.

The bans should be lifted. At the same time, leaders serving prison sentences for essentially political offences should be granted an amnesty and political exiles should be allowed to return home, subject to their renunciation of violence. An imaginative demonstration of this kind by the government of good faith towards black South Africans is urgently necessary.

Revoking the bans would not on its own solve the problems SA faces in education, local government, and other fields. It is, however, an unavoidable prerequisite for creating a climate in which it might at least be possible to talk about solutions. Such a climate does not exist at present. Since the government holds power in SA, and since the ultimate cause of the current tension and violent disturbances in parts of the country is the policy of apartheid, it is up to the government to make the first move.

SA is not on the brink of revolution or black-white civil war. It is still possible for the country to extricate itself from its present political impasse, but only by devising, through negotiation, a political order acceptable to the majority of the population. Although the recent violence does not endanger the security of the State, it is a threat to racial goodwill and therefore to the chances of political negotiation.

It is of the utmost importance to arrest the structural deterioration in race relations that has been taking place over the past year. Whether from a political, social, or economic point of view, SA cannot afford this process. Probably the only way in which it can be arrested, and then reversed, is by a dramatic demonstration of good faith on the part of white people.

Revoking the bans is a logical next step to the formal recognition in 1979 of black trade union rights, which created a momentum of democratisation that cannot be stopped without damage to both race relations and the economy. Black trade unions have played a successful role in resolving conflicts in industrial relations, precisely because they are seen by workers and the community at large as legitimate institutions. Recognising that black people have a right to legitimate political institutions as well is probably the only way to avoid the politicisation of industrial relations.

Allowing the banned organisations openly to organise and recruit members and propagate their viewpoints would help overcome the present confusion arising from the endless disputes about which leaders are or are not representative of black people. This makes for a particularly acrimonious type of infighting in black politics. It also handicaps white organisations, including the government, because they do not really know whom they should be talking to as representative spokesmen of black people. Allowing full black participation in the political marketplace would resolve this question.

The institute holds no brief for any particular organisation. The key point is that black people should be able to make democratic choices. It is therefore imperative that they be accorded the legal right to do this through lawful organisations using lawful strategies.

The institute's call, made more than two months ago, is not merely a reaction to recent violence, but an attempt to point a way out of the political impasse in which SA finds itself as a result of increased polarisation and the absence of channels through which blacks can effectively and constructively participate in the political life of the country.

No legitimate and lasting solution to SA's problems can be found outside structural political change or without some sort of national constitutional conference or equivalent process. Sooner or later, the pressure for such a conference will no longer be avoidable. As a first step towards the negotiation on which structural political change must be based, democratic political opportunities within the country need to be widened. Revoking the bannings on political organisations created by black people is the single most effective step that can be taken to initiate this process.

People denied democratic opportunities today cannot be expected to cherish and protect those opportunities tomorrow.

S. A. Institute of Race Relations

1985 - 1986

(305) FM 15/2/85

RACE RELATIONS GROWS

Basil Hersov, chairman of Anglovaal, has presented a cheque for R5 000 to the SA Institute of Race Relations. Anglovaal is the 50th company to have signed up for corporate membership of the institute since July last year when it launched a campaign to extend its membership among leading business and financial groups.

The institute, which is directed by John Kane-Berman, formerly Senior Assistant Editor on the *FM*, is widely respected for its analyses of social and political events in SA. Its major publication is the annual *Survey of Race Relations*, an authoritative handbook which has become essential reading for diplomats, journalists, and, increasingly, businessmen. The publication programme is expanding.

Corporate membership

According to the institute, corporate membership entitles companies to "a greatly expanded range of published material, as well as the opportunity to draw on the institute's extensive expertise in identifying areas where the private sector can use its influence to promote non-violent change."

Several such companies have already sought advice from Race Relations in making submissions to government on various issues. The institute's staff are available for consultations, addresses to board meetings, the preparation of special dossiers as background for speeches, and the preparation of special research projects.



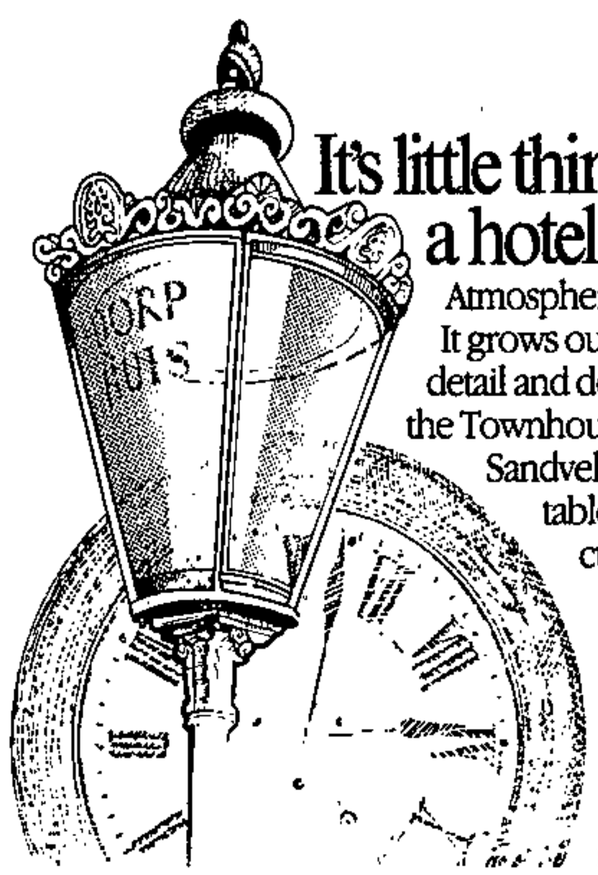
Anglovaal's Hersov ... 50th recruit for the institute

Company rate

The consultancy service is available only to corporate members; the rate for ordinary company membership is R1 500. The institute will soon be seeking to extend institutional membership among trade unions, churches, universities and other non-profitmaking organisations, who will receive the same services as corporate members.

According to Jemneke Kardol, who is the institute's membership manager: "For the last decade at least, the private sector has been the single most important source for the institute." She said there was nothing new in the principle of seeking corporate membership subscriptions; what is new is that the institute is seeking to enrol companies as members rather than simply asking for donations.

□ The Institute is based in Johannesburg. Tel: (011) 724-4441.



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YOUNG & RUBICAM RETAIL 401668

2 000 blacks get SAIRR grants

MORE than 2 000 black students and pupils have been awarded bursaries by the South African Institute of Race Relations for the 1985 academic year, the institute announced in Johannesburg yesterday.

The awards, worth more than R1,63 million, are the most ever awarded by the institute's bursary programme which is funded by donors both inside and outside South Africa.

The institute's head office in Johannesburg has awarded 575 bursaries for the 1985 academic year, compared to 450 last year.

Of this year's awards 313 are for university studies, 40 for teacher training colleges or technikons, and 222 for schools.

Medicine

About one-third of the student bursars are studying for a BSc, while another third are split equally between medicine and arts.

Besides local trusts, companies and individuals, the institute's bursary programme — which is believed to be the largest privately-run bursary programme in South Africa — is supported by grants from foreign governments, churches, and development agencies.

The institute said there was an enormous demand for financial assitance from black students all over the country. This year there were 4 800 applications to the institute's Johannesburg office alone, while in some of the other parts of the country there were even more applicants.

Classes

In addition to its head office bursaries the institute's branches and regional offices in Cape Town, East London, Durban and Maritzburg also run bursary programmes.

If these are added to the head office awards, the total number of people studying at universities, technikons, technical or vocational institutions, teacher training colleges, or at schools this year on institute bursaries is 2 197.

And 2 329 pupils in Government schools are registered for enrichment classes on Saturday mornings, run by the institute in Cape Town, Durban, Johannesburg, the East Rand, and Pretoria.

The institute uses 83 teachers for these classes.

Schlemmer lauds convention move

The newly-announced Convention Alliance was praised by Professor Lawrence Schlemmer when he delivered his presidential address at a meeting of the South African Institute of Race Relations in Johannesburg recently.

Professor Schlemmer, who ended his term as president at the weekend, also called for middle-ground politics to be strengthened to bridge polarisation between the ANC and the Government.

"Even the more radical groupings must be affected by the climate of reform talks," he said.

"By no means do all the members of more militant groupings envisage no alternative to a bitter struggle to achieve a sweeping concession, which they say is the minimum demand."

However, Professor Schlemmer also warned that the climate of reform created dangerous expectations.

"It is self-evident that, once these expectations are raised, critical anger and frustration will erupt if the reform performance of the Government does not match up to it," he said.

He labelled the concession on citizenship for blacks as a good example of such expectations.

"Even though this represents a complete abandonment of the old Verwoerdian apartheid ideology, the announcement generally favoured more attention on the eventual issue of black voting rights."

He called on all responsible South Africans to demand a statement from the Government in which its intentions regarding reform were laid out.

R1-m bursary scheme for blacks

THE South African Institute of Race Relations has signed a contract with the US Government for a six-year black bursary programme worth about R1-million.

The signing of the contract follows 18 months of negotiations in Johannesburg and Washington between the institute and US officials in both the State Department and Congress.

Funds were allocated in an executive order signed by President Ronald Reagan on September 9, in which he directed Secretary of State George Schulz to "increase the amount of internal scholarships provided to South Africans disadvantaged by the apartheid system."

The contract signed with the institute is part of the first phase of an internal American bursary programme which



PRESIDENT Ronald Reagan . . . signed order.

is expected to cost about R81-million over five years and will eventually help educate hundreds of students in South Africa.

The American bursaries — which the institute will award in time for the academic year beginning in January — cover books, accommodation, tuition, and transport, and are tenable in fields including building science, agriculture, engineering, public administration and liberal arts.

The bursaries are open to black, coloured and Indian students to study at a South African university of their choice.

Special provision is made in the contract for a prepatory bridging year to compensate black students for the deficiencies in the black education system, and so reduce the university drop-out rate.

The criteria for bursary selections are academic ability and financial need.

'I am glad' says Tutu

Staff Reporter

BISHOP Desmond Tutu told a meeting of more than 1 500 people at the Woodstock Town Hall last night he was pleased the government had withdrawn the passports of Stellenbosch students who intended to visit the ANC in Zambia.

The Nobel Peace Prize-winning Anglican Bishop of Johannesburg said: "At least some white people ... will now know what many blacks have suffered. "These students said, 'we will go'. Now the government says, 'we will take away your passports'. I am glad this happened."

The meeting was crammed. Crowds danced in Main Road, stopping traffic briefly after the meeting.

Banned

Earlier, the installation of loudspeakers outside the hall was banned, as was the displaying of the banners of banned organizations. The volume of the sound system in the hall was ordered not to be such that the speeches could be heard outside.

Bishop Tutu cautioned the gathering that "we are preparing for a society which is going to able to discriminate between good and bad.

"And we must not allow ourselves to become as the system we oppose. We cannot afford to use methods of which we will be ashamed when we look back.

"Why must we discredit our cause by using methods which, if they were used against, we would oppose?

"We are doing a great dishonour to those who are languishing on Robben Island, to those in Pollsmoor, to those in exile. We are doing a great dishonour to those whose blood has been spilt.

"We must use methods which can withstand the harsh scrutiny of history," he said.

Clemency

He told the meeting he had sent a telegram to the State President, Mr P W Botha, yesterday asking for clemency for the convicted ANC murderer Benjamin Moloise.

He had asked Mr Botha to "please at this late hour exercise your prerogative to commute the death sentence of this young man and help to reduce tension in this land".

Bishop Tutu said stability and peace would not come from the barrel of a gun because peace without justice was an impossibility.

"We will not have peace and justice in South Africa until the root cause of the unrest in our land is done away with — and the root cause of this present unrest is apartheid."

The Argus, Fr

WOODSTOCK MEETING

Bishop Tutu: I care about white liberation

"We must remember that we have been given a wonderful cause", Bishop Tutu said last night. Staff Reporter ROBERT HOUWING writes.

WHITES who opposed the system in South Africa deserved praise for "turning their backs on such substantial privileges," Bishop Desmond Tutu told a packed meeting last night.

The Nobel Peace Prize winner was speaking at a meeting organised by the Cape Western branch of the South African Institute of Race Relations in the Woodstock town hall.

Bishop Tutu said opposition to apartheid "came naturally" to black people, but "went against the grain" for whites. White South Africans, he said, were "not all demons."

"Most are scared human beings, and I ask the audience whether they wouldn't also be scared if they were outnumbered five to one.

"When I speak about black liberation it is because I also care about white liberation," Bishop Tutu said

The police, he said, had an unenviable task in having to carry out "the immoral laws of an evil, totally un-Christian system.

"As a black person I do not regard them as my friends, defending as they do something utterly indefensible, and they are going to have their work cut out redeeming themselves."

He slammed this week's police shooting from an unmarked vehicle in Thornton Road, Athlone, as "outrageous."

Bishop Tutu condemned people who resorted to burning others they regarded as collaborators. "Methods like that do a great dishonour to those languishing on Robben Island or at Pollsmoor, to those in exile, or those whose blood has already been spilt.

"We must remember that we have been given a wonderful, righteous cause, one of freedom and justice, and we must be able to walk with heads held high.

"Stability in this land will not come from the barrel of a gun, because peace without justice is not possible."

The root cause of the current unrest, Bishop Tutu said, was apartheid. "No reform or plastic surgery will make it more beautiful — it is a monster that needs to be destroyed."

He described the new constitution as a "culmination of the politics of exclusion," which "entrenched white minority rule for ever."

After the meeting, a group of youths stoned the windows of at least two businesses in the Main Road, a supermarket and a factory curtain shop. Police patrolled the area after the incidents, but no action was apparent.



(295) (S. Times 15/12/85)

The two ANCs and the perils of polarisation

By ERNEST WENTZEL SC
Chairman of the Executive Committee of the SA Institute of Race Relations

CONTROVERSY is a feature of a search for truth. It is in contrast and in opposition to those who believe that the search for truth itself is a mere liberal diversion, that the truth is a scientific reality called Marxism by which all life's complications — political, economic and personal — can be understood and explained.

Its seductive power is instant wisdom and an instant authorised vocabulary of political solutions. For some young whites this given knowledge is the only privilege they can carry without guilt.

There is an evangelic energy released when significant numbers of young students believe they have found the means to liberate themselves from the evil society from which they have come. Indeed, one can rejoice at much of the creativity and courage one sees on the campuses today.

But there is also a negative side. That is a self-righteousness which not only does not wish to hear any dissenting opinions, but will disrupt the meetings of those who express other views and vilify and anathematise those who express those opinions.

Some student leaders show a lack of concern when ordinary students melt away and show no interest in student affairs. This is simply a contempt for the democratic process.

Faith

It is also an indictment of those who do melt away and are too craven to state publicly the quite sensible, if unspectacular, things they believe privately.

These are some of the less happy features of university life today. They are a product of a society under great stress.

The challenge to the universities, and to the great majority of those who teach and study there, is to keep faith with the university's purpose in the search for truth where dialogue and diversity is promoted. However evil our society, the university cannot play the role of the technikon of revolutionary training.

Of course, the overwhelming majority of students and staff do not see the university's role in that radical view. They earnestly seek fundamental change and abhor racism, but have the sound commonsense to know the relationship between means and ends. They know the road to a nonracial democracy is not to be founded in violence and killing and the destruction of society.

Danger

In South African society itself, there is a danger — analogous to some of your experience on the campus — of a fatal polarisation of political positions. By that I mean a presentation of the main issue of the future as a struggle between capitalism and a Marxist socialism of an extreme and authoritarian variety.

Healthy

Such a development would be disastrous for South Africa. It would falsely present an extreme, hardline left solution as the appropriate alternative to apartheid. We would but change one authoritarianism for another.

There are many, many South Africans who do not wish to choose the moguls of capitalism as their champions. Let there be free enterprise with its energy and its capacity to create wealth. But we live in a society of abnormal inequality, which must be redressed with vigour.

To survive, any system in South Africa must acknowledge in a way that is obvious to all, and real in content, the political and economic worth of all South Africans.

A society with a healthy mix of public and private endeavour is worth striving for; a social democracy is worth striving for.

It is a solution that the capitalists would be well advised to accept. Many people will perhaps be sceptical about whether the ANC will do so.

There are, however, two ANCs: one is an ideal of national liberation in the hearts and minds of millions of South Africans, black and white. That ANC founded in 1912 has a noble history of forbearance in the face of insult and a steadfastness for nonracialism.

The other is the ANC in exile, with its sadness and longing to be home, and its hardening policy of violence and even terror, and a hardline political programme forged in the alliance with the South African Communist Party and the undue representation of Communists on its Council.

Friends

Those are the wages of exile. Let us not forget that in those long years of exile it was not yet fashionable to make pilgrimages to Lusaka. America had not yet done its reverse-Columbus and discovered Africa. The ANC made its friends where it could; the influence of those who introduced the friends grew in the ANC.

The time has come to let the ANC be unbanned. Let it return home to campaign openly in the political arena. The ANC of 1912, which saw the future as a nonracial social democracy, is there in the hearts and minds of so many people who seek a moderate, peaceful solution.

What we can all do is to convey a sense of urgency to those who govern us to allow all South Africans to participate fully and equally in the process by which that solution can be found.

● *Extracted from a Graduation Day speech at the University of Cape Town this week.*

Political polarisation would be fatal

Lift ban on ANC — top advocate

CHRIS CAIRNCROSS

THE time has come to unban the African National Congress (ANC), Ernie Wentzel, SC, chairman of the Johannesburg Bar Council and of the executive of the SA Institute of Race Relations, said yesterday.

Speaking at a graduation ceremony at the University of Cape Town, he called on government to allow the ANC to return home to campaign openly in the political arena.

Wentzel said the original ANC, founded in 1912 with a view of the future as a non-racial social democracy, was still there in the hearts and minds of millions of South Africans seeking a moderate, peaceful solution.

"What we can all do is convey a sense of urgency to those who govern us to allow all South Africans to participate fully in the processes by which that solution can be found," said Wentzel.

He said there was a danger of fatal, political polarisation — a struggle between capitalism and authoritarian socialism.

"Such a development would be disastrous for South Africa. It would falsely present an extreme, hardline leftist solution as the appropriate alternative to apartheid.

"We would change one form of authoritarianism for another."

He said many South Africans did not want the moguls of capitalism as their champions.

Yet he believed it was necessary to encourage free enterprise with its energy and capacity to create wealth.

But, Wentzel noted, SA society was characterised by abnormal inequalities which had to be redressed with vigour.

He suggested this could best be done by striving for a social democracy — "a society with a healthy mix of public and private endeavour".

This was a solution that the capitalists would be well advised to accept, Wentzel concluded.

Unrest death toll put at 1 000 over past 16 months

12/12/85 BUS DAY 305

THE past 16 months of unrest have cost nearly 1 000 lives.

Figures released yesterday by the Institute of Race Relations show that 992 people have been killed in unrest incidents since July last year.

Almost half (483) have died since the state of emergency was introduced four months ago.

About 175 deaths occurred between July and December 1984.

Most resulted from the eruption of rioting in the Vaal Triangle after a massive stay-away in the wake of a R5,50 house rent increase.

A month-to-month death toll since the beginning of the year breaks down as follows:

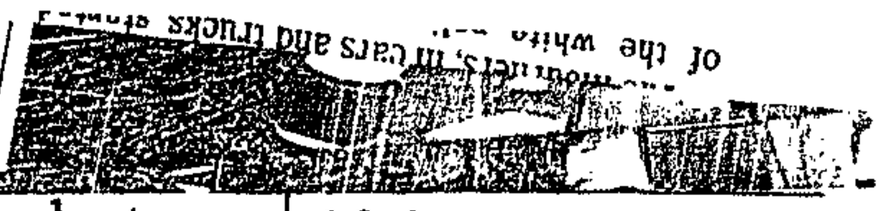
- January: Four people died in the Port Elizabeth and Uitenhage area;
- February: There were 35 deaths;
- March: There were 76 deaths, 52 of them in the Port Elizabeth/Uitenhage area;
- April: There were 46 deaths, 28 of them in the Port Elizabeth/Uitenhage area;

SIPHO NGCOBO

- May: 66 deaths, 36 of them on the East Rand;
- June: 45 deaths, 16 of them on the East Rand and 11 in the Cape Province;
- July: 96 deaths, 47 of them on the East Rand;
- August: 163 deaths, 80 of them in Natal, 28 in the Cape Peninsula/Boland area and 18 in the East London and Queenstown areas;
- September: 69 deaths, 16 of them in the Cape Peninsula and Boland;
- October: 85 deaths, 37 of them in the Cape Peninsula and Boland;
- November: 101 deaths, most of them in Mamelodi and Queenstown;
- December: 31 people died.

Acts of arson, murder and stone-throwing occurred in the Western and Eastern Cape, Witwatersrand, Natal, Northern Cape and Pretoria yesterday, police said.

At Khayelitsha, Western Cape, a bus was set alight.



Intruder shot, arrested in home

An intruder was shot and arrested by a Kempton Park man last night.

Police said that when Mr J Badenhorst (35) of Birch Acres returned home at 11 pm he found two men in his lounge.

The intruders resisted arrest and Mr Badenhorst fired a shot, wounding one in the buttock.

The other man fled, police said.

A 32-year-old man is expected to appear in court on Friday. — East Rand Bureau.

19 in court over constable's death

STAR 29/12/85

Pretoria Correspondent

Nineteen youths, all minors, appeared briefly in the Pretoria Magistrate's Court yesterday in connection with the gruesome death of a Mamelodi policeman, Constable Morris Ndlalane (23).

Constable Ndlane's charred body was found in the township earlier this month.

All 19 youths were granted bail before the case was postponed until next year.

Political violence: toll reaches 991

STAR 24/12/85

The death toll in the current wave of political disturbances in South Africa had reached 991, the South African Institute of Race Relations said in Johannesburg yesterday.

The worst month was August, when there were 163 deaths, it said, followed by November (101) and July (96).

The institute said that of the 991 deaths since the disturbances began in the Vaal Triangle in September last year, 843 had occurred during 1985.

During the previous period of political violence, which began in Soweto in June 1976, about 700 people were killed. — Sapa.

1 028 have died in political unrest

STAR 15/1/86 (305)

The death toll in political violence since September 1984 reached 1 028 by the end of last year, a period of 16 months, according to the South African Institute of Race Relations.

In a statement released in Johannesburg yesterday the institute said 879 died last year, an average of 2,41 a day.

"The institute's statistical analysis confirms a drastic decline in the daily fatality rate in Port Elizabeth/Uitenhage and on the East Rand after the emergency was declared there on July 21.

"However, the daily fatality rate in the Western Cape increased after the emergency came into effect there on October 26."

The Cape Province accounted for 52 percent of all fatalities last year, the Transvaal for 32 percent and Natal 13 percent.

Measured by fatalities countrywide, August, which claimed 163 lives, was the worst month, the institute said. In July, 96 people died, while in December the figure was 92.

The institute said its figures excluded the fatalities in Umbumbulu, Natal, on Christmas Day as they did not appear to have arisen during political protest.

● The banning of four weekend meetings called by the Soweto Parents' Crisis Committee (SPCC) to discuss the crisis in black education could only have disastrous consequences, a spokesman for the National Council of Women said yesterday. The meetings were banned in terms of security legislation.

Which make of car does Arnold Chatz think is best suited to South Africa's changing trends

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HBGΔA 11019/2

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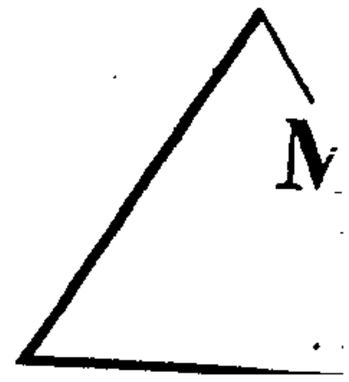

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Negotiation 'still possible in SA'

NEGOTIATION is still possible despite and apparent political stalemate between black and white.

This is the main finding of a research paper to be published next week by the SA Institute of Race Relations.

"Youth congresses, supposed to form part of that generation for whom the time for talking has passed, are far more willing to negotiate than the national rhetoric would suggest," the paper says.

The paper, entitled "Black Politics at the Crossroads", continues:

"Possibilities exist for creating a negotiation politics in the townships, which offers some hope of breaking out of the spiral of random militancy and repression, which has plagued them since 1976."

Referring to consumer boycotts and talks between boycott leaders and white businesses and municipalities, the paper notes:

"The potential for beginning a similar negotiation process in the townships, to the one which began in the factories after the Wiehahn Report, may never have been greater.

"Rudimentary experiments in negotiation in several townships, which have already begun, did so because an uneasy equilibrium was achieved in which neither side could destroy each other."

The paper sees the role of business and unions as very important in the development of structures for negotiation.

"The unions' experience has shown that grassroots politics can thrive only in a climate of negotiation.

"Only if the *establishment*, political and business, is willing to negotiate with local community leadership will a more enduring — and orderly — black politics emerge," it argues.

The paper says, however, that a "national political settlement is unlikely in the short or medium term" so that "any effective progress towards a settlement is likely to be made at the local level only".

Although some townships had been rendered "ungovernable, this does not represent an unstoppable tide towards political change or even permanent disruption.

"The aftermath of 1976 showed that the townships' political temperature can subside just as quickly as it rises unless militancy wins permanent gains," the paper says.

"While there is more organisation in the townships than a decade ago, it is still partial and weak.

"In some areas, such as the East Rand, militancy already seems to be running out of steam," the paper says. — Sapa.

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'Politics of negotiation still possible in SA'

STAR 24/1/86

305

By Susan Pleming

The possibility of negotiation in South Africa still exists despite the apparent political deadlock between black and white in the country.

This is the opinion of Mr Steven Friedman, a special research fellow at the South African Institute of Race Relations, who recently completed a research paper entitled "Black Politics at the Crossroads".

"Possibilities exist for creating negotiation politics in the townships, which offers some hope of breaking out of the spiral of random militancy and repression which has plagued them since 1976.

"Only if these possibilities are realised will the present impasse create a new atmosphere in the townships, which will see some power pass from whites to blacks, in a way which ensures that change will occur in an orderly way and not in response to either the petrol bomb or the gun," Mr Friedman said.

Referring to the banned African National Congress, Mr Friedman said negotiation could not take place without this group.

It was significant that opinion surveys of black attitudes had found the ANC had more support than any of the legal organisations.

"Even groups which have profound doubts about its politics, such as Inkatha and the unions, are forced by this climate to pay some homage to the ANC tradition," he said.

Although the potential for negotiation between black and white existed, Mr Friedman said powerful forces worked against this negotiation.

FREE ACTIVITY

Negotiation would not work unless free political activity was allowed in the townships, he said.

He added that the state of emergency would have to be lifted, banned political movements allowed to operate freely and political prisoners released. Police in the townships would also have to return to their normal role of preventing and detecting crime.

Mr Friedman described the unrest in 1984 and 1985 as a "sharp departure" from the upheavals in 1976. The plight of the economy was far more severe now than in 1976 and this limited the Government's ability to cool township unrest by introducing material improvements.

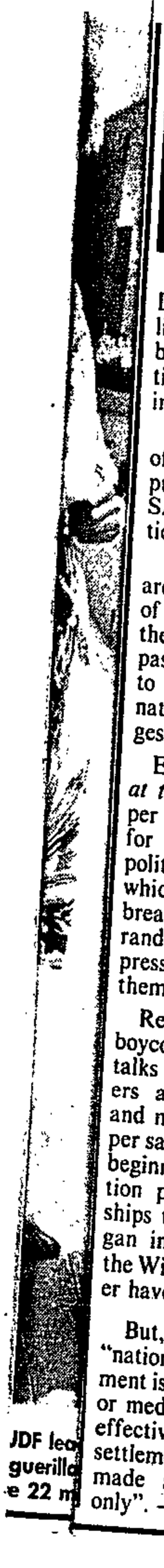
The nature of black political activity was also different and the formation of civic, youth and student groups had given it a new focus.

Another key change was the emergence of the black labour movement which had brought a new force to community politics.

"In particular they have stressed that the style of organisation they favour in the factories, in which leaders act only on a firm mandate from their constituents, be followed in community politics as well," said Mr Friedman.

But, Mr Friedman added, organisation in some townships was still weak. In some areas such as the East Rand militancy seemed to be running out of steam, while in others there were signs of a community backlash against the coercion used by some activists to enforce control over township action.

In additon to this, the youths who had led the township action lacked political sophistication and their militancy often alienated potential township allies, he said.



'SA can still get together'

CITY P. 30S

DESPITE the apparent political stalemate between black and white, possibilities of negotiation still exist in South Africa. 26/11/86.

This is the main finding of a research paper to be published next week by the SA Institute of Race Relations.

"Youth congresses, who are supposed to form part of that generation for whom the time for talking has passed, are far more willing to negotiate than the national rhetoric would suggest," the paper says.

Entitled *Black Politics at the Crossroads*, the paper says "possibilities exist for creating a negotiation politics in the townships which offers some hope of breaking out of the spiral of random militancy and repression which has plagued them since 1976".

Referring to consumer boycotts and the resulting talks between boycott leaders and white businesses and municipalities, the paper says: "The potential for beginning a similar negotiation process in the townships to the one which began in the factories after the Wiehan report may never have been greater."

But, the paper says, a "national political settlement is unlikely in the short or medium term", so "any effective progress towards a settlement is likely to be made at the local level only". – Sapa.

'Learn to build future'

THE Southern African Catholic Bishops' Conference has intervened in the school crisis – warning that the rejection of education might lead to new forms of "slavery" in future.

In its latest newsletter the SACBC asks students whether it was wise to sacrifice what was admittedly a poor education, or whether such a move would not make young people "less capable of making their own decision in future, and less able to participate fully in meaningful and total liberation".

The bishops call on the Government to set up a single education system, saying this would greatly help in the present crisis.

NEWS PLUS+

★ ABOUT 150 people attended the funeral of Queenstown civic leader Irene Blanche Mdudu, 76, who was murdered and set alight in Mlungisi in Queenstown three weeks ago after being accused of being a police informer.

NEWS PLUS+

★ THE Natal Indian Congress this week boycotted a commemoration by the US Consulate in Durban to honour late black US civil rights leader Martin Luther King.

The NIC said it was because it admired King that it boycotted the commemoration by a "racist" US administration.

NEWS PLUS+

★ GIANT US multinational company Cheseborough-Ponds was still locked in negotiations yesterday with the Chemical Workers' Industrial

Govt in tight spot on black rights, says Kane-Berman

STAR 27/1/86. 305

The Government appears to have painted itself into a corner on the issue of black political rights, the director of the South African Institute of Race Relations, Mr John Kane-Berman, said in Johannesburg today.

Addressing a meeting of the Union of Jewish Women, Mr Kane-Berman said the Government had promised that blacks could participate in decision-making up to the highest level, but it had at the same time apparently ruled out admitting them to Parliament.

Mr Kane-Berman said the Government had ruled out a fourth chamber for blacks and presumably it was also opposed to forming a single multi-racial chamber.

"How then," Mr Kane-Berman said, "can blacks participate in decisions at the highest level?

"If blacks are not to be admitted to Parliament, but instead given a new institution, how will this body relate to Parliament? If it is inferior then Government will not be able to fulfill its promise that one group won't dominate another.

"If it has equal status with the present tricameral Parliament there will obviously be a problem about resolving deadlocks."

Mr Kane-Berman said the President's Council at present fulfilled the function of resolving deadlocks between chambers in the tricameral Parliament.

If it were to resolve deadlocks between the present tricameral Parliament and a separate Parliament for blacks, its built-in National Party majority would have to be removed.

Referring to an instruction by the State President, Mr P W Botha, to the President's Council to examine the possibility of including blacks, Mr Kane-Berman said if black people were to be admitted to the President's Council it would have to be made superior to Parliament in order for the Government to be able to carry out its promise that blacks would be involved in decision-making up to the highest level. — Sapa.

Research, fact-finding projects are top priority

Solvency is now Institute of Race Relations aim

1/2/86
STAR 2/1/86
305

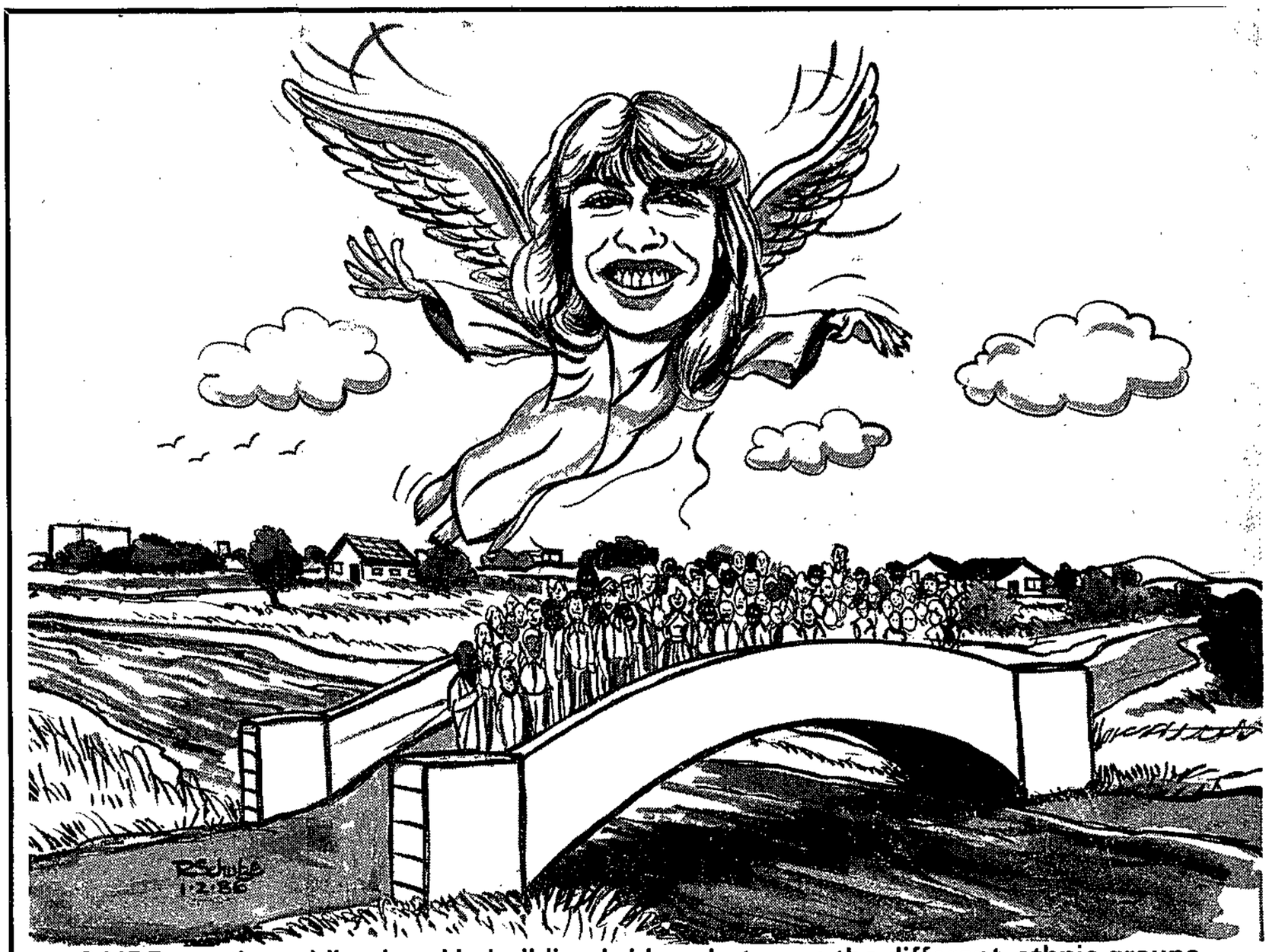
By Stan Kennedy

In financial straits for the past two years, the SA Institute of Race Relations has begun pulling itself up by its own bootstraps and hopes, after a critical evaluation of its role in society, to be back soon in the black.

For a time the institute, founded 56 years ago, lost its sense of direction, losing its impartiality by issuing Press releases and making major statements, according toMiss Jenneke Kardol, membership manager.

She says the institute had become like a holding company for some very good projects, like Operation Hunger, and had administered about R2 million's worth of bursaries a year.

"All this detracted from the institute's research and fact-finding projects. We try to build bridges between the races and, at the same time, act as a sort of consultant to our various members."



SAIRR . . . the guiding hand in building bridges between the different ethnic groups.

Fund raising

Miss Kardol was appointed two years ago to raise funds and sell the institute's products.

After taking a new look at itself, the institute adopted a three-point policy to put it back on its feet.

First it hived off Operation Hunger — now an independent organisation — and then closed its arts and crafts centres and regional offices throughout the country because they were running at a loss.

Staff was cut back from 80 to 45 and the institute returned completely to its calling of being fact-finders, researchers and consultants, said Miss Kardol.

Says Miss Kardol: "We are restoring research to its pride of place and will pay more attention to effective dissemination of published material. This will be done in such a way to give it impact in contributing to change in South Africa.

"We are financing the institute in a new way, replacing the five-year pledge system with invitations to companies to become members.

"Only our bursary programme will remain a national project and will be completely self-financing."

To develop a "real relationship" between the institute and its members, surveys and newsletters are being augmented with meetings and luncheons, where businessmen and business women, church leaders and trade unionists of different race groups can come together and discuss, and become more aware, of the racial problems facing the country.

Some recent work done by its

STAR

1/2/88

505

team of researchers includes condensing about 500 pages of a report on apartheid by the Human Sciences Research Council to 11 pages and publishing a survey on race relations, which runs to 1 000 pages.

"Then we have monthly briefings and lectures for our members. Speakers come from all sectors of society and include radicals and conservatives," Miss Kardol says.

"Our aim is bridge-building and communicating between people of conflicting views."

Directing the course of events and laying down policy is Mr John Kane-Berman, former president of the Students' Representative Council at the University of the Witwatersrand, and graduate in law, politics and economics at the same university. He was also a Rhodes' scholar.

Social barriers

He confers with Miss Kardol on a daily basis, and the two are constantly trying to find new ways of breaking down social barriers between the races.

This year, the institute is looking to collect R1 million to keep it afloat and to administering the bursaries. Annual grants of R500 000 each are received from the United States and Canada and, at present, 575 black, coloured and Asian students are at schools, teacher training colleges, technikons and universities.

Miss Kardol explained that it would be unfair to give bursaries to whites because their chances of getting the money from government are far greater than those of other race groups.

Miss Kardol said that unless the institute could find enough funds within South Africa to finance its basic costs, there would be no point in continuing to operate.

Three a day died — SAIRR

AN ESTIMATED 670 people died during the 228 days of the state of emergency which ended on Friday, an average of almost three a day, figures compiled by the SA Institute of Race Relations (SAIRR) show.

An SAIRR spokesman said the number of injured was "enormous" and impossible to calculate since many sought private treatment. The official figure was 3 658, he said.

CAPE Times 21/3/86 305

Parliament and Politics

Saunders: Constitution 'unworkable'

By BARRY STREEK
Political Staff

THE new tricameral constitution was unworkable, too costly and was skewing national priorities, the principal of the University of Cape Town, Dr Stuart Saunders, said last night.

In the field of education, multiple departments were costly and inefficient, and South Africa simply did not have the manpower and talent to staff those departments with people of adequate ability, Dr Saunders said in his presidential address to the South African Institute of Race Relations in Johannesburg.

He also said that he knew of "no one in government or out of it who has experience in health-service delivery, who will defend 'own affairs' and 'general affairs' hospitals".

Dr Saunders, a former dean of UCT's Medical School, said: "I defy any of my medical colleagues from the Minister down to stand up and say publicly that their preferred option is to have 'own affairs' and 'general affairs' hospitals.

"I have not met anybody who says it privately," he said.

The division of health services into "general" and "own" affairs would bring the medical profession in South Africa into question on ethical grounds.

Many people who had spoken to him, including members of the government and senior officials, had told him that "we must make the constitution work".

"It seems to me that it doesn't matter what the cost is in human terms or in resources and money, but we are asked 'to make the constitution work'.

"My submission is that the constitution is unworkable, and I would add that it is increasing bureacracy enormously, that it is too costly in financial terms for the country, and it is skewing national priorities," Dr Saunders said.

Most people would agree that the problems in education were among the root causes of unhappiness among black South Africans at present.

Yet, there were a "general affairs" education department, three "own affairs" education departments, numerous education departments in the homelands and an education department for Africans within the Republic.

The simple fact of the matter was that these multiple departments were "costly and inefficient".

Under the present dispensation there was at least one minister who felt he could not talk to a statutory body which included members of another race group because he was an "own affairs" minister — "and yet that is the very group of people he should be consulting in making important decisions".

"The hamhandedness and intolerance shown by the Ministry of Education and Culture of the House of Representatives in relation to the education needs of the coloured people should fill us all with a feeling of shame."

In contrast to what happened in "coloured" education, the approach of Mr Sam de Beer, Deputy Minister of Education and Development Aid, was "more conciliatory and more intelligent and enabled the sensible leadership given by the Soweto Parents Crisis Committee to be heeded by black scholars in South Africa".

Cape Times 21/3/86

Dr Stuart Saunders

THE principal and vice-chancellor of UCT, Dr Stuart Saunders, last night delivered his presidential address to the Institute of Race Relations in Johannesburg. He condemned the present tricameral constitution as unworkable and called for a new non-racial constitution.

● Reports, pages 4 and 10
● Leading article, page 10

LIBERALISM

Search for relevance

Three important questions emerged at a recent SA Institute of Race Relations symposium on the nature and future of liberalism in SA.

The first concerns the economy. Is pure, free-market laissez faire, capitalism; or a form of mixed economy, most appropriate to modern-day liberalism? Secondly, if liberals are to act as honest brokers in future negotiations between Left and Right, should they be prepared to compromise their philosophy to facilitate a rapprochement? The third question concerns liberal attitudes to political violence.

A series of lectures by the University of Cape Town's Charles Simkins last year, entitled *Reconstructing South African Liberalism*, is emerging as a seminal work in the liberal debate in SA. The opening paper at the symposium, delivered by UCT academic Tony Morphet, summarised Simkins' work.

Simkins notes that liberal philosophy remains highly influential "in defining terms of political discourse" in SA, both on the Left and the Right. But, as a coherent political grouping, liberalism is in a state of defeat.

A major reason for this is its vulnerability to attack from Marxists, who have denigrated liberalism as "the first line of defence for white capitalist inequality." Liberalism needs a clear defence against these attacks which, he accepts, are partially valid.

The problem with a pure free-market system, he says, is that it does not take account of previous injustices. While accepting that it is an efficient economic system, he adds: "A free-market system in which one group has prior holdings in nearly everything, and the other group holds hardly anything, will be efficient ... *for the benefit of the title-holders.*"

To redress these inequalities, Simkins proposes:

☐ State-supported land purchases for small farmers and co-operatives — without damaging the efficient sectors of agriculture;

☐ A limited form of shared public/private investment, the principle of which would be to improve the condition of the least well off;

☐ All controls which limit the ability of blacks to accumulate capital, and which prevent their equal access to public service positions, must be abolished;

☐ Ideally, there must be equal access to social services; and

☐ There must be scope for individual self-realisation. This will require opening markets by breaking up large concentrations of wealth, and a welfare safety net "from the cradle to the grave."

The crucial economic goal for the next 40 years is the reduction of poverty "from a mass condition to an exceptional one," says Simkins.

Liberal options on political structures include one, or a combination of geographic federation, consociationalism, and a unitary state. Simkins seems to prefer the first two: they are more likely to reduce conflict and protect minority rights. Universal adult suffrage is taken as given; and another feature is a Bill of Rights.

Saan columnist Ken Owen, paints a gloomy picture of SA in the foreseeable future. Liberalism, he says, is "sandwiched between the rival barbarisms" of Left and Right. The State, argues Owen, has military and police resources far beyond what it has used until now. While the Left is euphoric at having made parts of the country ungovernable, it seriously underestimates State power. Hence the present "revolution is around the corner" syndrome. The effect is competition between the irresistible force of black radicalism and the immovable object of the white security forces.

There is a fairly large faction in the National Party (NP) prepared to talk to the non-Communist leaders of the African National Congress (ANC), observes Owen. But such moves are unlikely to succeed. A universal franchise and freedom of association is a minimum requirement, but the NP will not be able to sell this to its supporters.

All liberals can do now, is to urge reform, protest against abuses of State power, campaign for a (pure) free-market economy, fight international sanctions, and "plead the cause of liberty, law, reason, compromise and negotiation."

Former Liberal Party member Jill Wentzel returned to the theme of leftwing violence. She attacks those liberals who underplay the coercive methods used in the townships in the name of the "liberation struggle." She talks bitterly of necklacing, enforced attendance at meetings and funerals, and other aspects of the totalitarian hold the youth have over the townships. And she is even more bitter over the "slide away from South African liberalism" by liberals who accept that structural violence justifies, or at least adequately explains, the response in kind.

She warns against the failure to recognise the direct relationship between means and ends. Political violence, she says, is eroding what remains of the middle ground. The consequences for a future SA are ominous.

Educationist David Adler and Wits University philosophy professor, Jonathan Suzman, debated the nature of the middle ground in SA. Adler argues that the liberal position on violence — to condemn it whatever its source — fails to get to grips with its basic causes. And he questions whether the middle ground and liberalism are the same thing in SA today. If liberals are to be relevant, they will have to shift to the middle ground, which could imply accepting some seemingly illiberal positions — like limited nationalisation of industry and affirmative action programmes, he says.

Suzman, on the other hand, argues that "the outcome of a compromise between villains is not necessarily acceptable to the liberal." Nevertheless, he says, liberals should attempt to play the role of honest broker and try to ensure that the compromises are in line with liberal philosophy.

At a time of rapid political polarisation in SA, attempting to revive liberalism appears courageous indeed, and requires more than a little faith. It will be interesting to see whether the challenge is taken further and formalised, perhaps, in a political party. ■

SAIRR sets up Schlemmer fund after arson attack

A FUND has been established by the South African Institute of Race Relations to help replace the library of Durban academic Professor Lawrence Schlemmer which was destroyed by arsonists last month.

SAIRR director John Kane-Berman said yesterday that Schlemmer lost a great deal in the fires and many people wanted to make a gesture to him.

"One thing that can be done is to help him replace the parts of his library which are replaceable. We thought we would act as a clearing-house for books or donations," he said.

A letter had been sent to Schlemmer about the institute's plans, but as he had been out of town he had not received it by yesterday.

When told, he said: "All I can say is, I'm humbly grateful."

He said the University of Natal was trying to get support for all the academics who lost material in the fire which swept through part of the Memorial Tower building. — Sapa.

Monitoring the pace of reform

CLAIRE PICKARD-CAMBRIDGE

ABOLITION of the pass laws has been greeted with relief, but government's track record in moving towards promised reforms is being monitored closely by the SA Institute of Race Relations.

The SAIRR has put out a new publication, *Quarterly Countdown*, which takes stock every three months of promised reforms, moves towards equality, and expected changes which have been delayed.

It also identifies areas where apartheid has been extended. It says the first quarter of 1986 saw Lebowa's Moutse district being incorporated into KwaNdebele, and the further segregation of hospital services.

Own affairs

It saw government plans to put health services under 14 different authorities under the own- and general-affairs system. Health services in white SA, including hospitals which cater for blacks, fall at present under four provincial administrations, while homelands have their own health departments.

Quarterly Countdown highlights aspects of racial discrimination which had been removed by the first quarter of 1986. These include:

☐ Blacks no longer require permits to study at white universities;

☐ Central business districts in Durban and Johannesburg were opened for all-race trading;

☐ Black nurses were employed at H F Verwoerd Hospital in Pretoria for the first time, and pay parity for nurses was introduced;

☐ The Liquor Act has been amended to allow licensees to decide whom they wish to admit their premises;

Pass laws

☐ Introduction of pay parity for some Post Office jobs;

☐ A White Paper on urbanisation which recommends abolishing pass laws and accepts urbanisation as inevitable; and

☐ Black residents of 13 affected townships will no longer be removed.

The SAIRR cautions that government has declined to reveal how many townships are still under threat of removal. The National Committee Against Removals has said Mothopestad in the Western Transaal is still under threat of removal, and other areas face subtle coercion to move.

Further promised changes to watch for in the next six months include:

☐ Amending the Aliens Act to remove discriminatory immigration-selection measures and allow Indians to live in Northern Natal and the OFS;

☐ Introduction of uniform identity documents;

Joint authority

☐ Government's response to proposals of the KwaZulu administration and the Natal Provincial Council for joint executive authority in Natal;

☐ Introduction of freehold rights in all proclaimed black townships for blacks who are SA citizens or legal immigrants;

☐ Removal of the discriminatory means-test for pensioners. According to the SAIRR, a white with assets of R41 000 is at present considered poor enough to qualify for a social-welfare pension, but a black with assets of R22 000 is considered too wealthy to qualify; and

Migrant workers

☐ Restoring SA citizenship to Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda and Ciskei (TBVC) citizens who reside permanently in white South Africa. The SAIRR says it seems migrant workers and frontier commuters who reside in TBVC areas will be excluded from the arrangement;

☐ Establishing common standards for education. Education Minister F W de Klerk has said the National Policy for General Education Affairs Amendment Bill will provide for a single and equal education system by laying down common policy on matters including salaries, standards for finance, syllabuses and exams.

More schools

The SAIRR points out that government is committed to more schools and improved teaching for blacks, but not to integrated schooling. While education will be subject to general laws, it remains an "own affair" with ethnically-fragmented education departments.

Quarterly Countdown pinpoints delayed changes, which include: regional services councils will come into operation only towards the end of the year, the introduction of multiracial provincial councils was postponed to July 1, and the December deadline for the scrapping of the job colour bar from the Mines and Works Act has passed without a new deadline being set.

The SAIRR also looks at President P W Botha's plan to negotiate establishment of a national statutory council to advise on matters of common concern. Botha has described it as the "first step towards institutional power-sharing".

The publication says the major problem with the council is that no significant black leaders have been willing to serve on it. KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi has laid down conditions, including abolition of cornerstone apartheid laws and the release of political prisoners such as Nelson Mandela, before he would consider serving on the council.

New constitution

Soweto Civic Association president Dr Nthato Motlana called for a new constitution rather than a new council, while the Azanian People's Organisation and the United Democratic Front have rejected the proposed council.

What could change matters is if Botha announces, as has been predicted, a new mechanism for directly involving blacks leaders in the decision-making process at the highest level.

Speculation is that a plan of this nature is to be put to a special federal congress of the National Party in Durban in August.

Record sum for bursaries

Bursaries amounting to R2,6 million have been awarded to more than 1 000 black students countrywide by the South African Institute of Race Relations.

This is the largest sum the institute has spent on bursary funding.

A third of the bursaries have gone to school pupils while nearly half are for university students. The remainder are for technical and teacher training.

Bursaries were awarded according to academic ability and financial need.

As well as the bursary programme, the institute runs school enrichment programmes and has more than 2 000 black pupils and students studying through it.

Local and foreign donors have given R2,7 million to the institute for education this year.

According to the institute, all bursary programmes for 1986 are now full but applications for 1987 should be sent in soon.

'No system but universal suffrage saleable to blacks'

STAR 23/6/86 395

Whites may think they can dig in their heels indefinitely against black political demands, but the price is likely to be unacceptably high, the director of the South African Institute of Race Relations, Mr John Kane-Berman, said today.

The price was growing international isolation, a siege economy which would eventually stagnate, falling living standards, strikes, consumer boycotts, racial tension, political violence and a steady disintegration of South Africa's social fabric.

Mr Kane-Berman was addressing the Middelburg Chamber of Commerce on "South Africa's Future".

He said nothing but a political system based on universal adult suffrage was saleable to blacks.

"It is my impression, however, that the precise form in which majority rule is expressed could still be negotiated — as long as there was no attempt on the part of whites to go for a system which had the appearance of majority rule but the reality of white control."

Any constitutional change, said Mr Kane-Berman, should involve a Bill of Rights and an independent judiciary with the power to enforce the Bill of Rights over both Parliament and the executive.

"It would also require constitutional guarantees of freedom of religion, freedom of political and other association, and constitutional protection of the content of cultural values such as language and religion."

There was no ultimate guarantor of any constitution, he said. The only constitution which could survive in South Africa was one which the majority of the people accepted.

Whites needed to make the psychological adjustment to this reality and, having done that, seek to ensure as many safeguards as they could for multi-party democracy and human rights for all.

"Race relations in this country have not deteriorated to the point where black political leadership will simply dismiss perfectly understandable white fears out of hand. The danger is that the longer the process is delayed, the greater the risk that things such as bills of rights will be rejected."

D OR CONFUSED, CYNICAL OR GENUINE?

Putting reform strategy under the microscope

A new study by the Institute of Race Relations puts the contradictions of the government's reform policies under scrutiny, reports PATRICK LAURENCE

JULY 1 marked the formal inauguration of perhaps the most substantial reforms since the National Party came to power, all approved by South Africa's tri-racial parliament before it adjourned on June 25.

But less than a fortnight before the adjournment President PW Botha declared a general State of Emergency, granting extraordinary powers to the Security Forces to contain the rebellion which has swept the land since September 1984.

The two developments seem contradictory and demand explanation.

The government's exposition is that revolutionaries, realising the reforms were genuine and could open the way to evolutionary change, stepped up their campaign to seize power.

An alternative intepretation is that the reforms were seen by the government's radical foes as part of a strategy to confuse and divide the subordinate black people and hence to be resisted at all costs.

In its latest Quarterly Countdown, the Institute of Race Relations attempts an evaluation of the government's reforms.

It does not provide a final, definitive assessment. It does, however, offer a useful overview.

Salient features of the reform programme include a draft bill for establishment of a multi-racial national council, creation of multi-racial provincial executive committees, restoration of South African citizenship to some blacks, granting of freehold property rights to blacks, and repeal of influx control and pass laws and — as a corollary to the planned phasing out of reference books — the introduction of uniform identity documents.

First mooted by Botha at the opening of parliament in January, the national council's purpose is to give blacks a say in the formation of a new constitution for all South Africans and, until then, an interim say in laws affecting them.

At present only a draft bill for the council has been tabled. A final bill will be considered when parliament reconvenes on August 18.

The formal establishment of multi-racial executive provincial committees on July 1 was a sequel to the abolition of the old whites-only provincial councils. The new all-race executive committees are nominated by Botha. The old provincial councils were elected by a racially-restricted electorate.

The institute quotes Casper Uys of the Conservative Party on the new committees.

Even so they will have to apply for their lost citizenship in writing to the Director General of Home Affairs, who may require the applicant to appear before him for questioning before agreeing to register him/her as a South African citizen.

The Institute comments: "The implications of the (Restoration of South African Citizenship Act) are that not all Africans eligible to regain their South African citizenship will do so. Illiterate people, in particular, will be at a severe disadvantage."

Freehold property, a long-cherished dream, was restored to blacks by parliament last month. But their right to freehold property can only be exercised within the framework of territorial segregation.

The Land Acts of 1913 and 1936 and the Group Areas Act restrict the right to own land to designated "black homelands" and to demarcated black townships.

The abolition of influx control was, as the Institute notes, widely welcomed by anti-apartheid opponents of impeccable credentials. Veteran opposition MP Helen Suzman labelled it the most important reform introduced by the government. Institute director John Kane-Berman compared its significance to the extension in 1979 of trade union rights to blacks.

But even here there are fears that Botha's constitutional guru, Chris Heunis, will use his extensive powers against squatting to introduce a modified form of influx control.

Sheena Duncan of the Black Sash concedes that repeal of influx control will improve the position of blacks in South Africans. But she fears that blacks from the TBVC states may be worse off unless they can get the new uniform identity documents.

Uniform IDs will replace the old reference books and, eventually, the identity documents currently used by non-blacks. They do not have to be carried around like the hated *dompas*. They will not contain any reference to race.

The racial coding reflected on ID documents was abolished on July 1, although the race classification of all South Africans will remain on record in the population register.

Duncan says: "People from the

broadening of democracy, as the government claims, then Botha will ultimately be the only voter left, Uys says. But at the same time he fears they are a move to bring blacks into government via the back door.

When Botha first announced his intention of restoring South African citizenship to blacks who were deprived of it when independence was supposedly granted to the TBVC states — Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda and Ciskei — his decision was hailed as a major retreat from grand apartheid, even as an advance to a post-apartheid society.

But, the Institute notes, where nine million blacks were deprived of South African citizenship by simple acts of parliament — the four status acts — it will not be automatically restored to them by an act of parliament.

Not all nine million are eligible to regain their South African citizenship. Only those who live permanently in South Africa — *ie* outside the reputedly sovereign TBVC states — and who have done so since the independence of the four quasi-states qualify.

a SA identity document will still have to be recruited from the homeland concerned in terms of agreements between their own government and South Africa."

Whether government reform is a steady, incremental drive towards a nonracial society, or a confused but not entirely cynical response to growing pressures, or a calculated plan to recruit and co-opt "collaborators" and to bamboozle the public, is a matter of debate. The dispute, however, is no longer merely intellectual.

Looking at SA moves

Sowetan 14/7/86 305

THE second quarterly review of the South African Institute of Race Relations, issued yesterday, has proved to be very informative about the Government's performance in carrying out its promises to move away from apartheid and towards racial equality.

The report, which embraces 11 different aspects of discontent among South African blacks, was compiled objectively. After sketching the background to each aspect, it gives different and authoritative comments on each. Views expressed in the quarterly report are the responsibility of the SAIRR.

Culture

Topics include government, political rights; education and culture, labour, security, land ownership and occupation, urbanisation, social segregation and sport, business and professions, health and welfare, and identity documents.

A cross-section of comments from homeland leaders, Government officials, newspapers and black organisations make interesting reading. It also makes it easy for the reader to

By SELLO RABOTHATA

form his or her own opinion on these matters.

An overview of the report states "during the second quarter of 1986 the tricameral Parliament enacted the most far-reaching reforms in South Africa since the National Party's election victory in 1948". The overview sees the reforms as the repeal of the pass laws, the granting of freehold rights to Africans, and provision for South African citizenship to be regained by those who had been denationalised.

In addition, the report said, fully multiracial executive government was instituted at provincial level, though on a nominated basis only. At the same time, however, the Government continued with its programme of phasing in racially based "own affairs" administration.

All of this was overshadowed by continuing economic recession, intensifying political violence culminating in the reimposition of a state of emergency on June 12, growing international pressure, and resurgent white right-wing reaction which included the breaking up of National Party meetings.

The Institute also views the reconvening of Parliament on August 18, which is an unusual step, as a sign that more reforms are in the offing. Another reason for the speculation is that the National Party is to hold a rare federal congress.

Opinions

As earlier stated the report is very informative but opinions will be formed by the reader and for further references the report has a list of its sources at the end.

sunrise woman

Finding funds for racial harmony

12.7.86 STAR

305

By Kate McKinnell

The accent is Dutch, but Jenneke Schuurmans-Stekhoven is emphatically South African, and contributes more than her fair share to this country.

She pours energy into her work as membership manager of the South African Institute of Race Relations (SAIRR) — work which has helped the once ailing organisation back on its feet.

"I was born in South Africa, but went to school and university in Holland. Then, after working in South Africa for a while, I spent years travelling overseas, working for marketing and advertising companies.

"That travelling made me deeply conscious of the South African situation, which I found increasingly difficult to justify," says Mrs Stekhoven.

When she returned to South Africa, she started work for a trade publications company, but soon began to feel she wanted to use her fund-raising skills for a meaningful cause.

She organised a sponsored bicycle ride, which raised about R20 000 for the Independent Living Centre, a non-racial rehabilitation centre.

The job offer as membership manager at the institute was just what she wanted. With an ease born of countless speeches, Mrs Stekhoven outlines the aims and activities of the SAIRR as well as her role in the organisation.

"The institute aims to create an understanding and awareness between different race groups by publicising the findings of its extensive research.

"We are committed to objectivity, and are careful that our own opinions don't interfere with any research results.

"This means, in fact, that our research results in some areas could be used as supporting evidence for President Botha, while Oliver Tambo would make good use of other results," says Mrs Stekhoven.

The institute details its findings in an annual survey of race relations, which has grown from 13 pages more than 50 years ago to more than 1 000 pages today. Publications to update information and understanding are also sent out to SAIRR members.

When Mrs Stekhoven joined the SAIRR she was faced with a tremendous challenge, for at that time the institute was close to bankruptcy.

"The organisation had lost its core purpose — research — and had become a sprawling base for other activities, particularly the administration of education bursaries.

"It had also overstepped its research role by taking political stands and making Press statements, which alienated many supporters," says Mrs Stekhoven.

It was her role, along with SAIRR director Mr John Kane-Berman, to get the organisation back into shape.

"When I arrived at the SAIRR, a lot of its support was coming from individual members and overseas organisations. South African companies were just giving occasional donations.

"We decided to emphasise the responsibility of local business to contribute, and we developed the concept of company and corporate membership," says Mrs Stekhoven.



JENNEKE SCHUURMANS-STEKHOVEN . . . "I wanted to work for a meaningful cause."

Bubbly Jenneke is full of drive

It was her job to interest and encourage big business which, she says, was not too difficult because she believes totally in the value of the institute's services.

She explains that companies are continually informed of new developments, while corporate members of the SAIRR have a consultancy service available to them. Institute experts advise on national and local political and social developments and trends, as well as writing speeches and reports for corporate members.

All of the present 205 company, corporate and organisation members — including trade unions and a wide range of non-profit making organisations — have been gathered under Mrs Stekhoven's management.

But she feels there is a huge untapped potential, and she is constantly "banging on management doors" to focus attention on the institute's activities.

"We have a mutual relationship with companies, as they benefit from our knowledge while we are given the opportunity to observe business trends.

"We also assist companies to donate money in areas where it will be best used, and in this way we can provide aid in areas where there is a need," she says.

The subscriptions from individuals and companies also aid other SAIRR projects, such as the identification and in-depth study of problem areas. For example, primary education for children at farm schools is being studied at present, and the institute will come up with solutions based on sound research.

In some instances, the institute will initiate helping services itself — for example, Operation Hunger and legal aid centres which became independent once they were running efficiently.

And on top of all these activities, the institute still administers education bursaries for about 12 200 black South Africans.

Jenneke Stekhoven has all this at her fingertips as she works in her small Braamfontein office or rushes out to meet company directors or overseas corporation heads.

"My days are full and there are trips around the country and even overseas. But I still have time for my own life with my husband and friends.

"My work gives me a tremendous feeling of satisfaction and I wouldn't give it up for the world.

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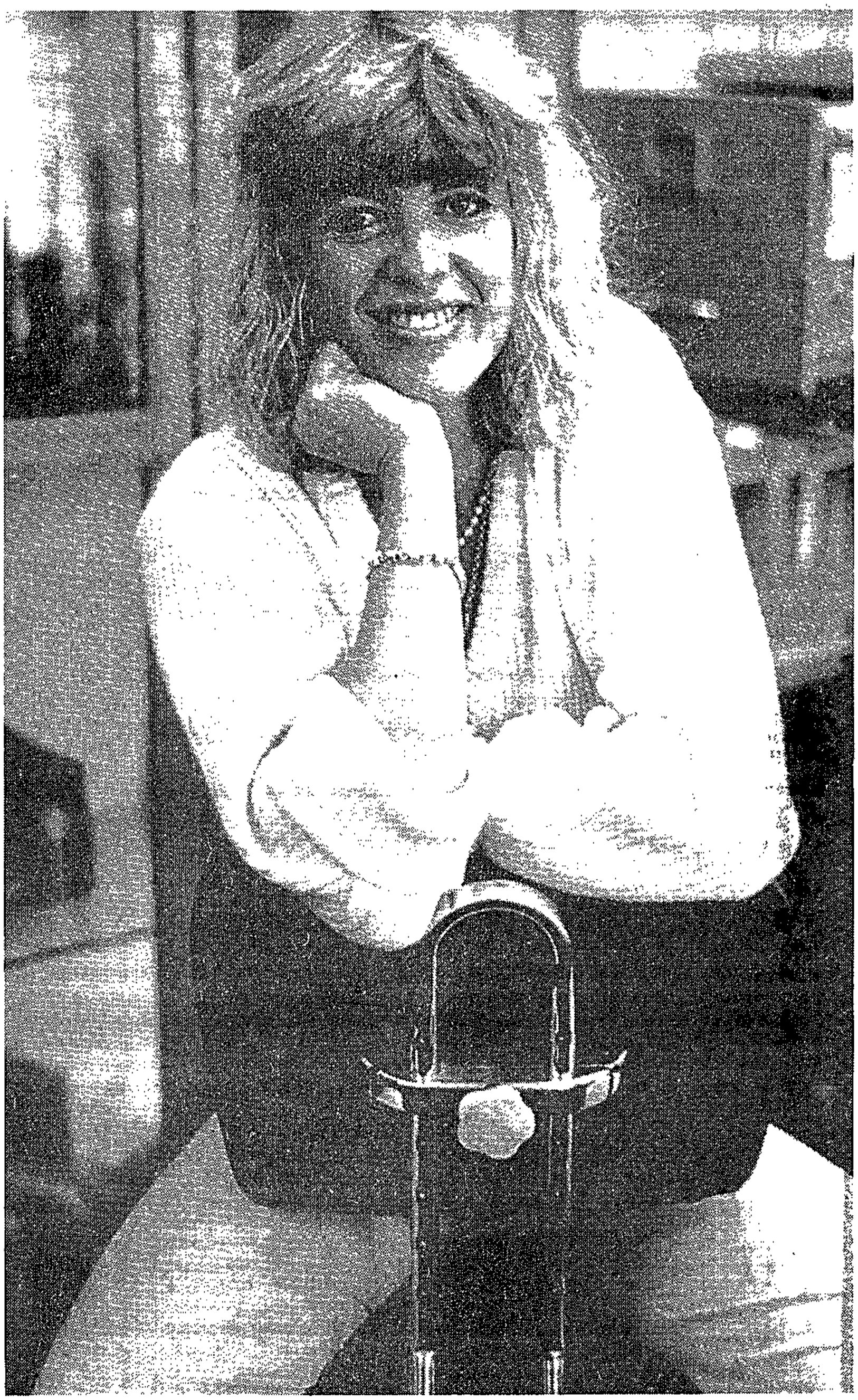

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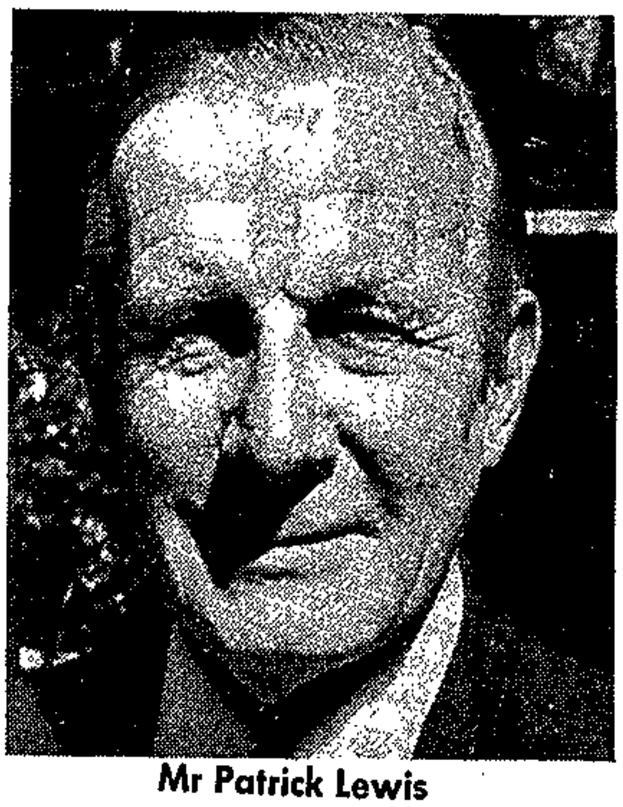
Race prejudice condemned

305 Star 19 8 76

Just on 40 years ago — 9 March 1947, the year before the National Party came into power — a young chartered accountant in Johannesburg gave this address to a meeting of the Kingsmead Parent-Teachers' Association. The speaker, Mr P R B Lewis, was on the threshold of an important career in public service. He was to become an MPC, a Johannesburg city councillor, chairman of the then Non-European Affairs Committee, chairman of the Management Committee, Mayor, Freeman of Johannesburg. Finally he received the ultimate accolade, an honorary doctorate bestowed by the University of the Witwatersrand for his work for an understanding of the needs of blacks, particularly the launching and development in the fifties of a crash housing programme and other services in Soweto. Throughout the years he strove for better relations between all race groups.

Mr Lewis, now retired, found this cutting from *The Star* when cleaning out his papers this week. His comment: "Forty years ago ... I could give the identical address today."



Mr Patrick Lewis

"Whether we like it or not, we have to recognise that we in South Africa cannot remain a law unto ourselves," said Mr P R B Lewis, treasurer of the Institute of Race Relations, in a talk on race relations at a meeting of the Kingsmead Parent-Teachers' Association on Wednesday night.

Thinking people were fully conscious that what South Africans accepted with equanimity as the pattern of life in South Africa had been condemned in the eyes of the world, he said. It would be a catastrophe if, because of criticism in other parts of the world, South Africans were to harden their hearts against the non-European people.

SUBSERVIENCE DISCARDED

One of the realities which emerged from the UNO discussions was that the non-European races had discarded their subservience. South Africa knew that among her critics were nations in which large parts of the populations were not as favourably treated as the non-Europeans in South Africa. The arguments used against South Africa might one day be used against her critics.

Mr Lewis pictured an equilateral triangle bisected by a heavy line drawn parallel to the base so that the upper part, one-fifth of the total area of the triangle, represented the white population and the lower part comprising four-fifths, represented the non-European population.

"We Europeans have now to realise that world opinion does not agree that the top or apex of the triangle is a preserve of the European," he said. "The recent experience of the British in India, of the Dutch in Java and of the French in Indo-China shows that the non-European peoples of the world will not remain amenable to rational argument, if we Europeans fail to make ample concessions to social justice while there is still the time and temper to do so."

The non-European no longer accepted the domination as inevitable and was trying with all his power to raise his group. It was the counter-pressure of the European group to this upward surge that created group conflict.

If Europeans could forget their prejudices and resort to reason they would find that co-operative planning towards the fulfilment of the aspirations of the non-European group would be to the advantage of the European. Moreover, the Europeans would only be helping to plan the inevitable.

"The task ahead will demand a great deal of us and I have great faith in the native people," said Mr Lewis. "They have been patient, and if their endurance is now a bit thin, I think there is still time for co-operation. This is possible if racial problems are raised to a plane of rational discussion and inquiry. Unfortunately, in the political sphere more heat than light is apparent."

U S gives R6 m for black bursaries

JOHANNESBURG—The United States Government has given the South African Institute of Race Relations another $2 750 000 (about R6 000 000) for black bursaries, bringing the total to $3 665 000 (more than R8 000 000).

This has been announced in Johannesburg by Mr John Kane-Berman, director of the institute, who signed an agreement with U S officials yesterday.

Mr Kane-Berman said the additional money meant the institute's intake of American-funded black students would increase from 38 this year to 129 in 1987.

He said that accounting, law, medicine, and dentistry had been added to the list of disciplines for which American bursaries were available.

Graduation

Agriculture, building science, commerce, engineering, journalism, liberal arts, nursing, pharmacy, public administration, science and social science were already on the list.

'This is a marvellous investment in South Africa's future by the American taxpayer,' Mr Kane-Berman said.

He said bursaries were awarded by the institute according to academic ability and financial circumstances and that, depending on satisfactory progress, students were funded all the way through to graduation.

The additional bursaries which would be available from the beginning of next year would therefore stretch in some cases to the end of 1994, depending on the field of study.

'When necessary, allowances for books, accommodation and transport will be given to students over and above the provision for tuition and accommodation,' Mr Kane-Berman said.

Coloured

Funds were also available for bridging programmes to compensate for the deficiencies in the black schooling system.

Mr Kane-Berman emphasised that the bursaries were open to blacks all over South Africa, including rural areas. The term black included Indian South Africans and so-called coloured people, he said.

He added that the bursaries were tenable at any university in South Africa, and that in making its awards the institute paid no attention to homeland boundaries.

Mr Kane-Berman said that applicants should write as soon as possible to the Bursary Manager, P O Box 32597, Braamfontein 2017 for application forms, which had to be completed and returned by October 31.

RTY Press 28/9/80

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Money to study

THE US government has given the SA Institute of Race Relations about R6-m for bursaries – bringing the total to more than R8-m, institute director John Kane-Berman said this week.

Kane-Berman said accountancy, law, medicine and dentistry students will now also be able to benefit from the money donated by the US government.

Bursaries – sponsored by the US government – are already available to agricultural, building science, commerce, engineering, journalism, liberal arts, nursing, pharmacy, public adminstration, science and social science students, he said.

Students who would lik to apply for bursarie should write to: The Bu sary Manager, PO Bc 32597, Braamfontein 2017.

Completed applicatic forms must be returned b fore October 31.

Although the bursari only covered tuition and a comodation, allowances f books and transport woul be given to some student Kane-Berman said.

Reform initiative seen to be grinding to halt

IT BECAME increasingly apparent during the third quarter of 1986 that government's constitutional initiatives were grinding to a halt, says the latest edition of the SA Institute of Race Relations' *Quarterly Countdown*.

This was evidenced by the failure of the special, second session of Parliament to enact the Bill designed to establish a national council, it says.

Generally, the publication paints a gloomy picture of progress on the political scene. It notes that the period was marked by fears that forced removals had not, as promised previously, been abandoned.

And it appeared that two major reforms — the abolition of influx control and the passing of the Restoration of South African Citizenship Act — were being undermined through the use of what the publication calls "backdoor apartheid".

ALAN FINE

It had become clear that no more than a quarter of the people who had lost their citizenship with to the gaining of "independence" of the TBVC homelands were eligible to have it restored. In addition, the Aliens Act was to be used "to perpetuate or even tighten up influx control against de-nationalised people".

The publication notes only one piece of constitutional action of promise — the passage of the Joint Executive Authority for KwaZulu and Natal Act.

Other positive moves were Education and Development Aid Minister Gerrit Viljoen's dissociation from Hendrik Verwoerd's black education policies, introduction of freehold rights for blacks in the non-independent homelands and trust lands, and the trading desegregation of more CBDs.

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FACE TO FACE

JOHN KANE-BERMAN

If the Indaba is accepted . . .



John Kane-Berman is the director of the SA Institute of Race Relations and deputy chairman of the KwaZulu-Natal Indaba, which he discussed with the *FM*.

***FM:* Government recently transferred a number of towns to KwaZulu jurisdiction, in line with its local government policy on self-governing authorities. Does this cut across what the Indaba is trying to achieve?**

Kane-Berman: No. One of the powers the Indaba believes should be handled at provincial level is overall control and supervision of local government, subject to the principle of maximum devolution of power to the third tier, which the Indaba has accepted.

There are existing systems of local government in KwaZulu and white Natal. If the central government accepts Indaba thinking, and returns broad control of local government to the provincial level — where it was until recently anyway — then presumably the new (Natal provincial) government will ultimately enact a new statute dealing with local government within a single ministry that caters for all population groups.

KwaZulu wanted government to delay implementing the new provincial system until the Indaba put forward its proposals. Does this put a brake on them?

Not a brake. But it came at an inopportune time in that there were two convening parties of the Indaba — the KwaZulu government and the Natal Provincial Administration. Now the NPA fell away as an elected institution and was replaced by appointees, despite the fact that they were one of the convening parties.

The logical thing for government to have done was to accede to the request that any changes in the structure of provincial government be delayed until we had reported to it. That request was regrettably not met.

Are the Indaba's plans peculiar to Natal?

I would hope not. Natal's particular circumstances have necessitated it as a matter of urgency, and have facilitated it. For example, the Natal Provincial Council has been under the control, not of the National Party, but the New Republic Party. This facilitated a degree of informal working co-operation with KwaZulu over a fairly long period. You had a far-sighted white political leader of Natal in Frank Martin, who was talking about this kind of co-operation while Vorster was prime minister.

On the black political scene, there is a coherent mass-based organisation large enough to make white and other negotiators confident that an agreement with it is likely to be adhered to.

A map of KwaZulu-Natal tells you that it's impossible to do anything in terms of physical planning — roads, public works — with two totally separate political structures, which is the government's way. It was blocked by (KwaZulu Chief Mangosuthu) Buthelezi and his supporters because Inkatha refused to make KwaZulu a sovereign independent State.

Apart from the fact that the vast majority of blacks in Natal (and elsewhere) reject the policy of hiving off homelands into "independence," it would have produced in Natal the sort of chaos that happened in East London with the consumer and bus boycotts. Business in East London who wanted to deal with those issues had to go through the Department of Foreign Affairs of the Ciskei, a supposedly separate State, because Mdantsane, the organisational base of those boycotts, is in Ciskei. That's utterly ridiculous.

What about the effect of government's land consolidation plans for Natal?

There's no enthusiasm for them in Natal.

One of the implications of the Indaba, if its proposals are accepted by central government and enacted into law, is that the boundaries of KwaZulu as a self-governing entity will disappear in practice.

You won't then have a multiracial-but-nominated provincial executive controlling the white areas, and the KwaZulu government controlling KwaZulu. It will be a single legislature for the whole Province of Natal, and it envisages a single Cabinet for the whole province.

Does the exercise have legitimacy?

Despite the fact that government rejected the Buthelezi Commission report before even studying it, the executive committee of the Natal Provincial Council and the KwaZulu Cabinet went ahead with various co-operative structures. There was a joint working group of civil servants from both administrations set up last year, as well as a Strategic Policy Group.

They put to government a proposal to give the joint Strategic Policy Group statutory status.

That was accepted and incorporated in the Joint Executive Authority Act, which was the only piece of important legislation that went through the recent, rather abortive, second parliamentary session.

But then the next stage, as (KwaZulu's) Oscar Dhlomo pointed out, is that if you have a joint executive, you should follow it with a joint legislature. He observed that the two convening parties of the executive did not represent everybody in Natal. A joint legislative body required a much wider process of involvement in devising the plan.

Hence the Indaba, and bringing in people not represented by either of those two authorities — a mini constituent assembly for that area.

Assuming the Indaba reaches agreement on a constitutional package for government in Natal, that the central government enacts it into law, and that the show gets on the road, then the first election will be held. A multiracial legislature would be in place; a multiracial Cabinet would come into operation. Then I think a number of things will happen.

First, political stability can be maintained. There will be increased business confidence and greater investment, including some foreign investment. With greater investment you will get positive rates of GDP growth per capita; blacks in Natal will see that multiracial government not only means that they have meaningful power, but also that their material conditions start improving because there is growth to finance it.

Then whites in the rest of the country will see that they're not driven into the sea if there is multiracial government. Demand for this kind of thing will burgeon in different parts of the country. The proof of the pudding will be in the eating. If it's seen to work as I believe it will, you will get similar initiatives elsewhere. There is a great yearning for this kind of politics — that is, effective consultation with no preconditions laid down by either side.

But will government accept the Indaba's proposals?

The Indaba has a fighting chance. I detect a more favourable attitude from government's side. When the Joint Executive Authority Bill was introduced in parliament, the State President rightly drew a very clear distinction between joint executive structures and joint legislative structures, saying the latter had very profound political implications. He seemed to imply that for people of different races to make laws together was like something that should be permissible only between consenting adults in private.

Subsequently, (Natal NP leader) Stoffel Botha has said government would look very seriously at the proposals that came out of the Indaba. Government's stated position is, correctly, that it will reserve judgment until the final proposals are presented to it.

The NP observers at the Indaba, who have full speaking rights, are making a constructive contribution to the deliberations.

But looking at the broad political climate, it seems to me that government's constitutional plans are falling apart at every level. From this point of view, the Indaba is highly opportune.

We are coming up with a practical proposal that I have no doubt will command the majority of support in Natal.

One has to hope that government has a little bit of humility, that its professed desire to see greater devolution is sincere, and that it will have the humility to let other initiatives be tried where its own have failed.

University bursaries

5/10/86

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JOHN KANE-BERNMAN ... A marvellous investment.

FIVE hundred bursaries worth millions of rands for study at SA universities are available at the SA Institute of Race Relations.

The only qualification is that the applicant must have a matriculation pass with university exemption.

The bursaries come from the US government and governmental and institutional donors in Switzerland, Sweden, West Germany, Australia and the Netherlands.

Applicants must write for application forms as soon as possible to:

● The Bursary Manager,
PO Box 32597,
Braamfontein 2017.

Completed application forms must be returned by October 31.

Applicants will be expected to write an essay of about 250 words saying why they should be given a bursary.

They must also send in their June exam results.

The US government portion of the bursaries is worth $2 750 000 (about R6-m), which brings the total allocated to over R8-million.

Institute director John Kane-Berman said the money meant that the institute's intake of US-funded black students would increase from 38 this year to 129 in 1987.

He said that accounting, law, medicine, and dentistry had been added to the list of disciplines for which US bursaries were available.

Agriculture, building science, commerce, engineering, journalism, liberal arts, nursing, pharmacy, public administration, science and social science were already on the list.

"This is a marvellous investment in South Africa's future by the American taxpayer," Kane-Berman said.

Bursaries are awarded by the institute according to academic ability and financial circumstances.

Depending on satisfactory progress, students would be funded all the way through to graduation, he said.

The bursaries – which will be available from the beginning of next year – would therefore stretch in some cases to the end of 1994, depending on the field of study.

"When necessary, allowances for books, accommodation, and transport will be given over and above the provision for tuition and accommodation," Kane-Berman said.

Funds are also available for bridging programs to compensate for the deficiencies in the black schooling system.

Kane-Berman emphasised that the bursaries were open to black students from all over SA, including rural areas.

He said the bursaries were tenable at any university in SA, and that in making its awards the institute paid no attention to homeland boundaries.

Some of the 622 black students already at university on institute bursaries this year had difficulty finding accommodation, he said.

"This problem would be reduced if the government got rid of the Group Areas Act – and once again I appeal to them to do so."

United States gives R6-m for bursaries

THE US government has given the South African Institute of Race Relations another $2 750 000 (about R6m) for black bursaries, bringing the total to $3 665 000 (more than R8m).

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Mr Kane-Berman said that the additional money meant that the Institute's intake of American-funded black students would increase from 38 this year to 129 in 1987.

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Mr Kane-Berman said that he wished to emphasise that the bursaries were open to blacks all over South Africa, including rural areas. The term black included Indian South Africans and so-called coloured people, he said.

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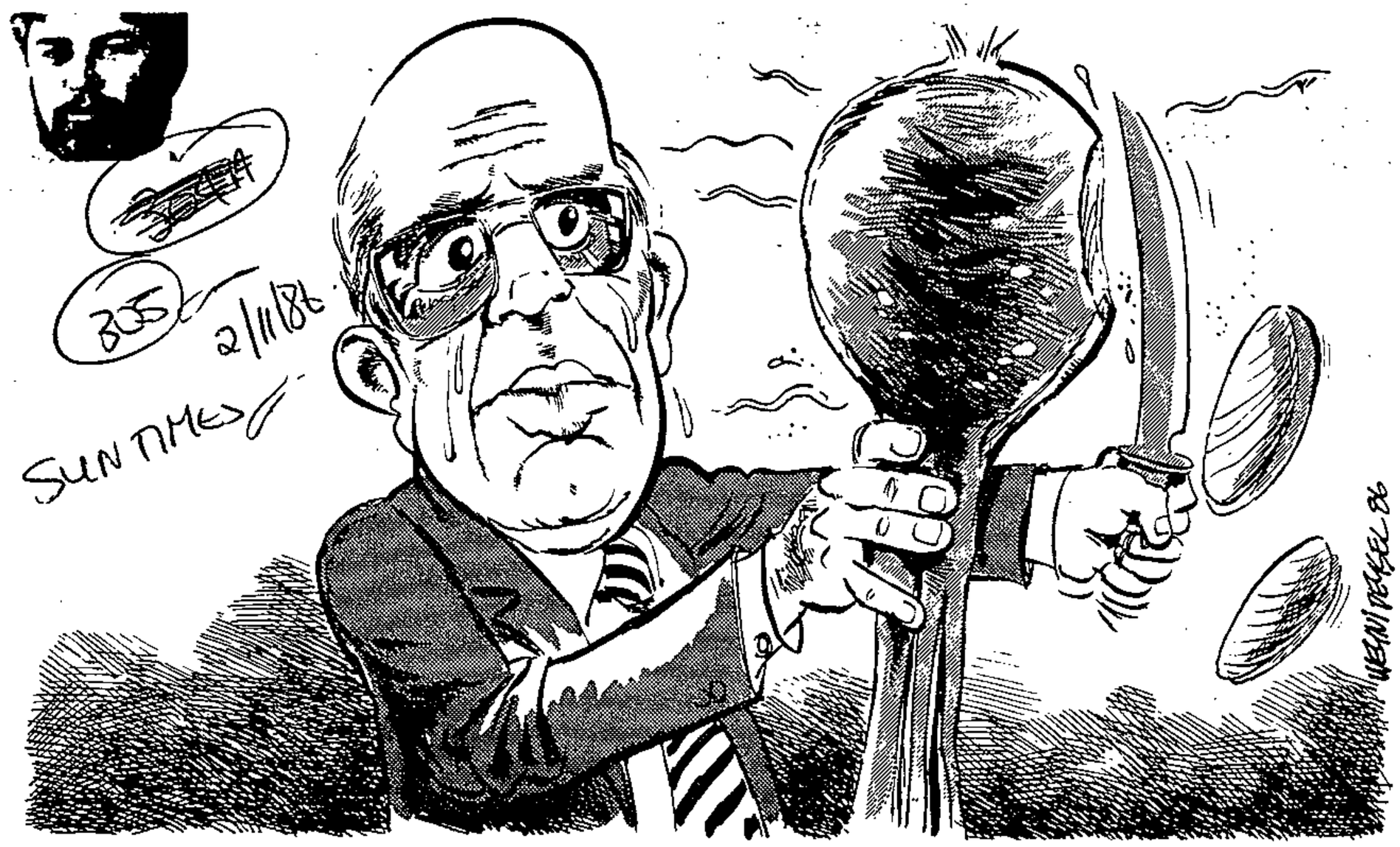
THE ONION FACTOR

By JOHN KANE-BERMAN, Director of the South African Institute of Race Relations



Every time you peel off one layer of apartheid you expose the layer under it. The only way to protect the core is not to peel anything off at all

LET me begin by confessing to be a member of an endangered species — those who feel reasonably optimistic about South Africa.

Apartheid is on the way out — not because the Government wishes it so, but because it has become unenforceable.

The pass laws, for example, were repealed a few months ago because they became impossible to enforce. The Government has now dug in its defences behind the Group Areas Act.

But it makes no sense to reconcile oneself to increased black urbanisation in the context of a gigantic black housing shortage and a white housing surplus and refuse to let black people buy houses that whites can't sell to anyone else.

Businessmen seeking to promote blacks to supervisory jobs where they will be able to fire people sometimes find that the promotions are refused unless they are accompanied by accommodation in a white suburb, because the supervisors are terrified of being "necklaced" in the black townships if they ever do fire black workers.

The Government is now toying with "improving" the Act, applying it "more flexibly" and "wherever practicably possible", and so on — all the while proclaiming its adherence to the basic priciple of group areas.

Make one "improvement", however, and you expose yourself to demands for others — be "flexible" here and you invite pressure to be "flexible" there. Eventually, inevitably, you will erode the very foundations of the principle you are trying to preserve.

One day the President says the Group Areas Act is not a "holy cow", but the next he says it is a "cornerstone".

What would one think of a priest who said of the commandment "Thou should not commit adultery", that it was a "cornerstone" but not a "holy cow" and that it had to be "flexibly" applied? You'd think he was either confused, or up to something.

I don't rule out that the Government is confused, but I suspect it is up to something — preparing the ground for a retreat from the Group Areas Act, but trying to pretend otherwise to some of its supporters.

Once this Act has been repealed, maybe within three years, the desegregation of schools will move up the change agenda — not because the Government wants it to be there, but because segregated education is more ing areas become racially mixed.

Apartheid, in other words, is like a huge onion. Each time you peel off a layer you expose the one underneath it.

Eventually you get to the core, the Population Registration Act. The only permanent way to protect the core is not to peel anything off.

Dr Verwoerd knew this: today's rightwing parties know it too. I suspect that in his heart of hearts, Mr P W Botha also does.

Change is a dynamic process which takes on a momentum of its own. Each change was eventually conceded by the Government in the belief that it could be limited: that allowing blacks to do industrial training would not lead to their obtaining property rights.

But investment in training is likely to be squandered unless it is accompanied by labour stability, so trade union rights and then property rights had to be conceded as well.

Social change has a multiplicity of causes. Among them are underlying structural trends — the drying up of the white labour surplus, for example, forcing the economy to turn to blacks.

This in turn opened up possibilities for social organisation: it was not mere coincidence that black unionisation grew in the '70s at the very time when blacks were climb-

Changes in the intellectual climate are also important: once key people in Government recognised the unworkability of Verwoerdian apartheid, they had no ideological lodestone to which every decision could be referred.

Inevitably this created more space for pragmatic, as opposed to ideological, decisions.

Black resistance is also a vitally important component of the change process.

Resistance may take violent form, as was the case in Soweto in 1976 when rioting forced the Government and the private sector to try to improve the quality of life of

Or it can be passive, as has been the case with influx control; or, thirdly, resistance can take institutional form, such as the use of an institutional power base by Chief Buthelezi to block the Government's plans to extend its homeland "independence" policy to KwaZulu.

If one wants to help the process along, it is necessary to understand it and devise appropriate strategies.

The selection of targets is crucially important. A year-long analysis by the South African Institute of Race Relations of the dynamics of change has shown that a useful distinction may be drawn between the Government's core interests and its

For the forseeable future, the maintenance of political apartheid is a core interest. Social apartheid, university apartheid, and CBD economic apartheid have now become marginal issues.

Apartheid in sport is becoming a thing of the past. The important point is not where the dividing line is, but the fact that it shifts.

All of the issues I have listed as marginal interests were core interests not so very long ago.

The key questioni for political strategists is to identify the issues that are becoming marginal, or which, through the suitable application of pressure, can be rendered marginal.

Remaining segregation in hotels and restaurants is already marginal, while continued enforcement of racial segregation in teacher training colleges can soon be rendered marginal with appropriate pressure.

Social, economic, residential, and educational apartheid will disappear before political apartheid does. But even there, where the foundations are supposedly firmest, the process of erosion has begun.

The 1983 constitution, which was supposed to be the culmination of the separate constitutional development of black and white, was actually the turning point — the point where the Government was forced to start retreating from that very policy.

In now declaring its commitment to bringing blacks into decision-making at the "highest level", the Government has signalled a change of tack in that it is repudiating the idea that the "homelands" provide the whole solution.

It seems in fact to have given up hope that it can lever more "homelands" into "independence."

The Government, because it is committed to white self-determination, will spend the next few years seeking to incorporate blacks at the "highest level" within a racially structured framework that aims to prevent straight majority rule.

Its plans will fail — are already failing — because blacks will not co-operate with segregated constitutional structures.

The Government will eventually have to concede the majoritarian principle and will then involve itself in legitimate bargaining about checks and balances to safeguard the rights and reasonable interests of minorities.

It will find that many blacks have been polarised to the point that they will have no part of such bargaining, but that those who are willing to participate are sufficient in number to make the process viable.

These include major internal leaders, as well as some presently denied access to the political process, and it is up to the Government, since it holds the keys to the cells, to create such access.

Business needs to understand that the battle for fundamental change in South Africa is going to be a long haul, and that it will require staying power above all else.

The setting of unrealistic deadlines on core issues probably serves more to heighten frustration among the Government's opponents, and harden the Government's attitudes, than it does to advance the change process.

A more strategic approach, involving longer-term commitments, which some companies have made, is therefore necessary. In other words, business really needs to hang in there.

Excerpt from address to a US Business Council meeting in New York this week.

remember that victory — and brace themselves for new battles
Picture: WENDY SCHWEGMANN, Reuter

SA 'Greens' get together

By FRANZ KRUGER, East London

PEOPLE and organisations involved in South Africa's growing ecological movements gathered in the eastern Cape last weekend to debate a direction and define their shared concerns for the first time.

The strongest contingent came from Cape Town's Koeberg Alert (KA), with others from Pietermaritzburg's Society Against Nuclear Energy (Sane), an informal grouping from Grahamstown and a handful of people from Johannesburg.

Labels like "ecosocialists" and "Greens" were thrown around by people keen to make it clear that their concerns were not only ecological but also social.

In the end, delegates agreed on a compromise: they were members of "ecologically concerned" groups.

Underlying the debate was the problem of how to translate the style and content of Green politics, as practiced in western Europe, into South African conditions.

There were differences between "Green socialists" and "Green capitalists" — between those who saw environmental concerns as a part of general social change, and those who pursued them primarily for their own sake. These differences also exist within the European Green movement.

Some delegates held that the current political dynamic made it essential to take sides clearly, and to introduce ecological concerns into the debate about the shape of a post-apartheid society.

In the end, delegates adopted a statement of concern that South Africa's human and natural resources were being used in an "irrational and unsustainable manner in the name of apartheid short-term growth and profits".

Meeting at a time when "suppression of dissident voices has reached a new peak" the groups noted their belief that "the development of a more equitable and sustainable social and economic system must be based on the premise that all life forms are ultimately dependent on each other as well as on certain finite non-living resources."

They agreed to raise certain issues which will "vitally affect the quality of life to be enjoyed by future generations of South Africans" but had received little attention in the "current debate about South Africa's transition to a more democratic and equitable society".

The issues include:

- The state's commitment to "highly centralised energy policy which involves the large-scale use of nuclear power".
- The development of "badly planned, energy-inefficient cities to accommodate future urban growth."

SAP pay out ex-detainee

By SHAUN JOHNSON

SOUTH AFRICAN Institute of Race Relations researcher Monty Narsoo has received R5 000 from the South African Police — more than five years after he was allegedly tortured while in detention.

The out-of-court settlement was made "without prejudice" — meaning that the defendant, the Minister of Law and Order, has not admitted liability. Narsoo, who was a trade unionist when he was arrested in November 1981, claimed in papers before the court that he had suffered "pain, shock, mental anguish, loss of the enjoyment of the amenities of life, discomfort and the impairment of his dignity".

Narsoo stated that apart from enduring verbal abuse from policemen, he was seriously assaulted on several occasions.

After receiving the cheque from the SAP, Narsoo said: "I feel reasonably lucky, given the immense problems people have in bringing this sort of case — because of both the police regulations and the cost.

"I know of several similar cases from the same period which never made it to court. Despite the very long time it has taken, and all the difficulties, I do feel vindicated to a certain extent", he said.

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"I know of several similar cases from the same period which never made it to court. Despite the very long time it has taken, and all the difficulties, I do feel vindicated to a certain extent", he said.

S. A. I. R. R.

1987 — 1989

Govt challenged over Mandela

7/1/87

BUS DAY

GOVERNMENT should release Nelson Mandela and other political prisoners, Institute of Race Relations director John Kane-Berman said in a New Year statement issued yesterday.

He said the institute was not reiterating its earlier calls for the release of political prisoners as a sop to Western opinion, but because it was necessary for SA's internal politics.

This was especially so if there was to be any chance of getting fully representative constitutional negotiations with black leaders off the ground.

"The government is known to be worried that Mr Mandela's release might precipitate violence. Obviously it would generate such excitement that there would be a risk of a spillover into violence. However, bold

ALAN FINE

moves in politics are seldom without risk, and Mr Mandela's release has become a necessary symbolic political act.

"It is also precisely the kind of gesture that the government should make in response to the widespread calls from black political organisations for children to go back to school. These calls have been made without preconditions, which is all the more reason for such a gesture.

"Moreover, since the government's own figures claim that political violence has greatly diminished, it should feel confident that it can release Mr Mandela from a position of strength, and not because its back is to the wall," Kane-Berman said.

Release Mandela, says SAIRR boss

THE Government should take the bull by the horns and release Nelson Mandela and other political prisoners, the director of the South African Institute of Race Relations, Mr John Kane-Berman, said yesterday.

Mr Kane-Berman said the institute was not reiterating its earlier calls for the release of political prisoners as a sop to Western opinion, but because this was necessary for the internal politics of South Africa — especially if there was to be any chance of getting fully representative constitutional negotiations with black leaders off the ground.

"The Government is known to be worried that Mr Mandela's release might precipitate violence," Mr Kane-Berman said.

"Obviously it would generate such excitement that there would be a risk of a spillover into violence. However, bold moves in politics are seldom without risk, and Mr Mandela's release has become a necessary symbolic political act of the kind that South Africa so desperately needs to make a new beginning this year.

"It is also precisely the kind of gesture that the Government should make in response to the widespread calls from black political organisations for children to go back to school. These calls have been made without preconditions, which is all the more reason for such a gesture.

"Moreover, since the Government's own figures claim that political violence has greatly diminished, it should feel confident that it can release Mr Mandela from a position of strength, and not because its back is to the wall," Mr Kane-Berman added.

The Government had played cat and mouse with Mr Mandela's release for too long, Mr Kane-Berman said. "Let it rise above electioneering and party politics and display the statesmanship that the country is crying out for." — Sapa.

16/1/87

FINMAIL

RACE RELATIONS AT 50

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The 50th edition of the authoritative *Race Relations Survey* has just been published. The Institute of Race Relations work deals with events in 1985 — a watershed period when, as the introductory overview puts it, "Black resistance to government policies reached unprecedented levels of intensity . . ."

It was also the year in which foreign, particularly US, perceptions of SA heightened virtually exponentially as media coverage of the "unrest" focused on State methods of law enforcement; the first State of Emergency of the decade was imposed; there were "black-on-black" killings of policemen and councillors, as well as an escalation of black inter-organisational violence; two major newspapers were closed, denying the PFP a voice in the Transvaal; the rand continued to decline with a concomitant increase in the rand price of gold; and there were the beginnings of the disinvestment process with the withdrawal — on economic grounds, but setting a political precedent — of Alfa Romeo, Renault, and Peugeot from South Africa.

The major areas covered by the survey are: race classification, political organisations, government and the constitution, business, the economy, labour and employment, urbanisation, transport, housing, the homelands, removals, education, security, and political developments.

This year the survey has 643 pages and sells for R25.

Violence is waning — SAIRR

B/DAJ 6/3/87

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Business Day Reporter

POLITICAL violence is on the wane says the South African Institute of Race Relations (SAIRR).

It said in Johannesburg yesterday that the unrest had claimed 2 387 lives over the last 30 months, but actual fatalities in recent months could be higher, since emergency regulations made information difficult to obtain.

The SAIRR said 21 people had died in February, compared with a revised figure of 40 for the previous month (January 1987), which was the second lowest monthly figure since January 1985.

Average daily fatalities during the last six months slightly exceeded one a day compared with more than five a day over the preceding six-month period.

The SAIRR also noted that conflict within black communities had replaced security force action as the main cause of fatalities.

The number of deaths during each six-month period since September 1984:

- 188 (September 1984 to February 1985);
- 492 (March 1985 to August 1985);
- 565 (September 1985 to February 1986);
- 955 (March 1986 to August 1986);
- 187 (September 1986 to February).

Promises not kept — SAIRR

JOHANNESBURG —Despite the State President's public commitment to equal justice,' made in a newspaper advertisement in February last year, apartheid continued to be enforced against blacks in a wide variety of spheres, according to the South African Institute of Race Relations (SAIRR).

Its Quarterly Countdown, published here yesterday, highlighted the following as some of the apartheid policies still enforced:

● Forced removals continue despite promises to the contrary;

● Blacks are still barred from key jobs on the mines;

● Most citizens of independent homelands continue to be denied South African citizenship rights;

● The National Housing Commission is being split up into separate own affairs housing and development boards;

● The government refused to allow the Cape Town Teachers' College to admit all races;

● The Indian own affairs administration laid down strict requirements before blacks could be admitted to Indian schools;

● A new Child Care Act will be administered according to the own affairs system.

Among the positive developments highlighted in Countdown were the introduction of salary parity for black social workers, the appointment of the first black South African representative to the International Monetary Fund and the desegregation of cinemas in Pretoria, Krugersdorp, Pietersburg and Roodepoort. — Sapa

3 million houses needed

MORE than 3,2 million housing units must be provided by the year 2000 if every family outside the homelands is to be accommodated separately from one another, according to the South African Institute of Race Relations (SAIRR).

By SY MAKARINGE

In its quarterly report, the SAIRR said this meant that if the housing backlog is to be eliminated 200 000 housing units would have to be built each year.

The institute noted in its report that only 8 000 units were built for blacks between 1980 and 1985, compared with more than 43 000 houses built for whites in 1984 alone.

The report said the figure of 574 063 usually given for the black housing shortage did not give a true reflection of the situation as it excluded the homelands, which could be in excess of 440 000 units.

While there was a surplus of 36 757 units in white areas, the coloured housing shortage was officially estimated at 52 000 and that of Indians at 44 000.

The institute said the shortage of land for black housing had been identified as a key factor by planners, black local authorities and the Houses of Delegates and the House of Representatives.

Obstacle

"A major obstacle to the allocation of land is racial land zoning enforced by the Group Areas Act and the Black Communities Development Act. African town councillors are thus increasingly identifying the Group Areas Act as the major constraint in meeting housing needs," the report said.

Other obstacles, according to the report include:

- **Resistance by white local authorities to allocate land for black housing.**
- **Eighty four percent of Africans cannot afford low cost housing without subsidies. The figure for whites is nine percent.**
- **Duplication of administration — nine government and local authority departments are involved in the provision of housing.**

"The urban housing backlog is a consequence, among other factors, of Government attempts to limit African settlement in the cities by limiting or freezing housing provision.

"While influx control has been partially abandoned, the retention of the Group Areas and Black Communities Development Acts remain a major legislative restraint on mass housing provision," the report said.

(SBB) (305) DD 6/5/87

Rejection of EEC funds condemned

JOHANNESBURG — The South African Institute of Race Relations (SAIRR) has condemned the Kagiso Trust's rejection of R40 million in humanitarian aid from the European Economic Community (EEC), which it said could have been used to fund some of the 8 000 bursary applications it had received.

The SAIRR director, Mr John Kane-Berman, said it was "tragic that particular political viewpoints have been allowed to enter into educational funding".

"We have had more than 8 000 applications for bursaries this year and have been able to satisfy fewer than 10 per cent of these. It is heartbreaking to have to turn down so many people — and galling to do so when EEC funds earmarked for the purpose have been blocked by political considerations," he said.

The Kagiso Trust's negotiators rejected the R40 million after a disagreement over how it would be administered. — DDC

Politics blocks EC bursaries for blacks

By Bruce Anderson

European Community (EC) funds earmarked for a bursary programme for black South African students have been blocked by political considerations, according to Mr John Kane-Berman, director of the Institute of Race Relations.

According to him, an EC official approached the institute at the end of 1985 asking it to draw up a budget for a bursary programme for black students and to send an application for EC funding to Brussels.

The institute had completed its budget and negotiations with the EC were far advanced when the official told the institute to submit the application through a local trust. The institute refused to do this because it feared that political factors could intervene.

Soon afterwards representatives of the trust turned down EC funding because they believed EC sanctions against South Africa to be inadequate.

Since then, the institute has made it clear to EC governments, via their ambassadors in Pretoria, that it is willing to administer a bursary programme directly for the EC, but most ambassadors did not bother to reply to the institute's letter.

Mr Kane-Berman is now repeating the institute's offer through the Press. He says the institute has more than 8 000 applications for bursaries this year and has been able to respond to less than 10 percent of these.

"We would have been glad to receive the EC bursary programme because black people are desperate to go to university," he said.

SAIRR slams 'political funding'

CPT Times 7/5/87 305

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The SA Institute of Race Relations (SAIRR) has condemned the Kagiso Trust's rejection of R40 million in humanitarian aid which it said could have been used to fund some of the 8 000 bursary applications it had received this year.

Although director Mr John Kane-Berman did not mention the trust by name, he said it was "tragic that particular political viewpoints had been allowed to enter into educational funding".

Kagiso Trust negotiators Dr Beyers Naude and Mr Ahmed Dango recently rejected the R40 million being offered by European governments after a disagreement with the donors over how the funds would be administered, and over the EEC's insistence that they be used for strictly "humanitarian" and not "political purposes". The South African negotiators argued it was impossible to separate the two in South Africa.

"We have had more than 8 000 applications for bursaries this year and have been able to satisfy fewer than 10% of these. It is heartbreaking to have to turn so many poeple down," Mr John Kane-Berman said.

Millions go into black learning

A RECORD R3,7 million in bursaries has been awarded to black students by the South African Institute of Race Relations.

The Institue announced in Johannesburg on Wednesday that 2 415 students and pupils had been awarded bursaries for 1987, and that R3,7 million was the largest it had ever spent on bursaries.

The awards were made from more than 22 000 applications countrywide.

About a third of the bursaries are for university students, 10 per cent teacher training college students, three per cent technikon students, and 52 per cent pupils at primary and secondary schools.

The awards were made by the SAIRR head office in Johannesburg, as well as by it's branches in Cape Town, Durban, Pietermaritzburg and East London.

The Institute said it's awards were made according to the academic ability and the financial circumstances of the applicants.

SAIRR said its bursaries were open to black, coloured and Indian students from all over the country, including all 10 homelands.– Sapa

'Conditions improve, legislation remains'

305

STAR 10/8/87

By Carina le Grange

The second quarter of this year saw a number of government moves to upgrade black socio-economic conditions, although this was done through racially segregated systems.

This meant that apartheid continued to be entrenched in the social-services sphere, according to the South African Institute of Race Relations (SAIRR).

This is the conclusion of the SAIRR's second social and economic update of the year, which was released yesterday.

Among the improvements listed are the 40 percent increase in African education spending and a 26 percent increase in the development aid budget, which funds homeland development.

It added that the Government regarded the upgrading of black socio-economic conditions as a priority and that reports on national security management confirmed such moves were a "kingpin in the Government's security strategy: without welfare, security is doubtful".

In spite of improvements, the report said official African unemployment was 1,08 million — with other estimates putting it at between three million and five million.

It referred to laws and regulations that restricted the growth of black business and it quoted Job Creation managing director Mr Ian Hetherington, who has said the restrictions are "so onerous and complex" that it would take an attorney 20 hours to establish which laws would apply to legalise the business of a backyard African welder.

Legal costs would be more than the total capital invested by the welder.

In spite of the legislative restrictions, black business activity had increased markedly over the past 10 years.

Mr Hetherington said while there were few black manufacturers in 1975, there were at least 50 000 in 1985, and he estimated there were probably more than 100 000 black-owned small businesses throughout the country by last year.

The report said: "There are indications that an overhaul of racial restriction on black business may be imminent. The key question then will become whether black businessmen, historically deprived of the capital and skill they require to compete, will be able to do so without assistance or whether special measures will be required to assist them in overcoming backlogs created by legislated discrimination."

305 DD 10/8/87

Black business still restricted — SAIRR

But govt moves to upgrade conditions

Dispatch Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG — Black business was still restricted by a complicated maze of regulations despite the government's stated commitment to "equivalence for all businessmen", said the South African Institute for Race Relations (SAIRR) social and economic update for the second quarter of this year.

The SAIRR said the precise scope and jurisdiction of the regulations afffecting black businessmen were often unclear to legal experts, let alone black business people themselves.

"There are indications that an overhaul of restrictions on black business may be imminent," the report said.

"If these changes are made, the key question will be whether black businessmen, historically deprived of the capital and skills they require to compete, will be able to do so without assistance, or whether special measures will be required to assist them in overcoming the backlog created by legislated discrimination."

The publication notes the emphasis that government spokesmen have placed on the need to "uplift" black socio-economic conditions as a means of guaranteeing stability.

It notes also that increased provision has been made for such upgrading by an increased allocation of resources.

Among the positive trends identified by institute's socio-economic update are:

● A 40 per cent increase in black education spending in the 1987 budget against a rise of over 8 per cent for whites.

● A 40 per cent increase in the budget for social services.

● A 26 per cent increase in the development aid budget which pumps funds into the homelands.

But it added there were suggestions that the government was trying to reduce backlogs — created by now abandoned policies — without making policy changes which would erode segregation.

"The second quarter of this year saw a number of government moves to upgrade black socio-economic conditions," the SAIRR said.

"Its insistence on doing so through racially segregated systems, however, meant that apartheid continued to be firmly entrenched in the sphere of social services."

The increased allocation of resources had not been accompanied by the removal of legal and administrative obstacles, the SAIRR said, even in areas where the government was committed to change.

In areas such as housing, the SAIRR said, blacks' access to facilities was constrained by low income which could not improve unless present social and political policies were altered.

"As the government endeavours to reduce backlogs, remaining racial restrictions in law and policy are likely to emerge even more sharply as obstacles."

The SAIRR said there had been no movement away from the government's insistence on providing segregated services in areas such as housing, health and education.

The update said housing was the one area where restrictions had been relaxed, but even so developers complained about continued bureaucratic obstacles.

"There is no sign of change in laws and policies which hamper full black urbanisation, such as the Group Areas Act and the "deconcentration" policy.

"Urban land freed for black housing is being allocated in terms of guide plans which assume that both the Act and policies limiting black access to urban land will remain in force," the SAIRR said.

● Big business had been experiencing an administrative nightmare since transactions started attracting RSC levies on August 1, said Amrel's financial director, Mr Mark Bower.

The financial director of Premier Group, Mr Gordon Utian, said members of his company, "we're up to our teeth in paper work."

Altech's finincial director, Mr Neill Davies, said an enormous amount had to be spent on training staff to cope with the levies.

An Arthur Young partner, Ian Mckenzie, said companies were grappling with the many grey areas in RSC legislation.

"A major problem arises, for example, with contracts which are partly sale and partly service, because the type of contract affects the region to which the levy must be paid."

See Editorial P 6

Even lawyers cannot plot a clear and obstacle-free course

Black business lost in maze

BLACK business was still restricted by a complicated maze of regulations despite government's stated commitment to "equivalence for all businessmen", said the SA Institute for Race Relations' social and economic update for the second quarter of this year.

The report said there had been a number of government moves to upgrade black socio-economic conditions during this time.

But, it added, there were suggestions government was attempting to reduce backlogs — created by now abandoned policies — without making policy changes which would erode segregation further.

"The second quarter of this year saw a number of government moves to upgrade black socio-economic conditions," the SAIRR said in a Press statement accompanying the release of the update.

"Its insistence on doing so through racially segregated systems, however, meant that

SUSAN RUSSELL

apartheid continued to be firmly entrenched in the sphere of social services."

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"As the government endeavours to reduce backlogs, remaining racial restrictions in law and policy are likely to emerge even more sharply as obstacles."

The SAIRR said the precise scope and jurisdiction of the regulations affecting black businessmen were often unclear even to legal experts.

"There are indications that an overhaul of racial restrictions on black business may be imminent," the update report said.

"If these changes are made, the key question will be whether black businessmen, historically deprived of the capital and skills they require to compete, will be able to do so without assistance; or whether special measures will be required to assist them in overcoming the backlog created by legislated discrimination."

The SAIRR said there had been no movement away from government's insistence on providing segregated services in areas such as housing, health and education.

"There is no sign of change in laws and policies which hamper full black urbanisation, such as the Group Areas Act and the 'deconcentration' policy."

The SAIRR noted three positive trends.

These were a 40% increase in African education spending in the 1987 budget, against 8% for whites; a 40% increase in the budget for social services; and a 26% increase in the development aid budget which pumped funds into the homelands.

SAIRR News report places apartheid views in doubt

Dispatch Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG — Two apartheid myths have been torn apart following recent research, according to the South African Institute of Race Relations (SAIRR).

Firstly, blacks living in white areas do not cause property values to drop and, secondly, segregation in residential areas do not mean a higher crime rate.

According to a report in the latest SAIRR News, these findings by the Intitute formed part of a commissioned research project on the Group Areas Act carried out for the Colgate Palmolive group at a time of renewed fears of forced removal following the white general election on May 6.

In its paper on the relationship of the group areas and the economics of the property market, the Institute noted that property prices in areas that have become racially mixed have risen since black people bought property there.

"The paper also argues that when blacks move into 'white areas' they do so in an effort to improve their living standards and therefore have a vested interest in ensuring that these standards are maintained'," the report said.

"The study goes on to argue that repeal of the Group Areas Act is the key to a sustained revival of the South African property market."

The institute's second study, dealing with residential inegration and crime, analysed crime statistics at 13 Reef police stations.

It found little correlation been the incidence of crime and the racial mix in suburbs.

"For example, the incidence of rape is twice as high in segregated suburbs covered by Mondeor police station than in the 'grey' areas covered by Hillbrow police station," the SAIRR News said.

"The study also reports police stations showing a 166 per cent rise in the number of robberies in the segregated suburbs covered by the Lombardy East police station, while the Hillbrow police station reported only a 26 per cent rise."

Good education for black children must be secured

Action needed down at farm

THE South African Institute of Race Relations has published a study on farm schools in South Africa.

In the study, the institute emphasises the need for action to secure a good education for black children living on white farms.

The publication notes that a number of recommendations have been made in the past regarding farm schools. These recommendations fall into three categories:

- Transferring farms schools to State control and eliminating the role of the farmer who, the report makes clear, has excessive influence over teachers and the continuance of the school itself.
- Creating community centres which would include provision for sport and recreation facilities, health-care facilities, choirs and cultural activities, youth camps and other things on the farmer's land and
- Increasing the responsibility of the State while schools remain on privately-owned land.

Entitled "Farm Schools in South Africa — An Introductory Review", the study is written by Margaret Gaganakis and Mary Crewe, lecturers in the education department at Wits University.

By NKOPANE MAKOBANE

The purpose of the review is to identify the major areas in which research into farm school education needs to be undertaken.

The authors emphasised that the recommendations that have been made over the years and which they highlight in this study are in need of urgent attention.

They note that ultimate responsibility for education of black children on white-owned farms remains with the State.

Tested

"However, given the numbers of children involved, the large disparities in education in South Africa, and the cumbersome nature of bureaucracy, these recommendations will need detailed examination before being carried further.

"They are simply a range of alternatives which need to be thoroughly tested through further investigation. Changes in the farm school system are dependent upon wider structural change in South Africa.

The authors say they are recommending that farm schools should be transferred to State control because the educational prospects of some half-a-million children who are in schools, let alone future generations of black children, seem bleak if education is left to the individual farmer.

Initiative

They point out that in the present situation, schools are opened only on the farmer's initiative and are subject to closure after nine years and 11 months should he so wish, and not forgetting the widespread child labour.

Those who are interested in the study, can obtain it from the Institute Bookshop, PO Box 97, Johannesburg 2000.

The price is R6,50 plus 78 cents GST, and 52 cents postage and packing.

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SAIRR: apartheid still common

Dispatch Reporter

EAST LONDON — The South African Institute of Race Relations (SAIRR), which monitors apartheid in the country, has revealed that there have been a number of government moves to upgrade black socio-economic conditions — but apartheid is still firmly entrenched in the sphere of social services.

In its publication, Socio-Economic Update, the institute noted that increased provision had been made for upgrading by an increased allocation of resources.

Government spokesmen have placed emphasis on the need to "uplift" conditions in black areas as a means of guaranteeing stability.

The report said that spending on black facilities and services had been reflected in several budget votes, including the provincial budgets, but racial breakdowns were rarely provided.

Among the positive trends identified by Socio-Economic Update were:

● A 40 per cent increase in spending on black education in the 1987 budget, against a rise of over eight per cent for whites;

● A 40 per cent increase in the budget for social services — five per cent more than the increase in security spending;

● A 26 per cent increase in the development aid budget, which pumps funds into the homelands.

However, negative developments were noted in the fields of education, energy, health and housing.

In the field of education, the report noted that the authorities were not contemplating extending the use of white facilities to blacks.

The use by black students of white teacher training facilities or the re-opening of unused white schools as private, non-racial institutions had not materialised despite earlier suggestions by government spokesmen that this might take place, the report said.

Nor had the electrification of black areas enjoyed high government priority and attempts to improve health care for all races had been hindered by commitment to segregated services.

Star 28/8/87

Friday August 28 1987

SAIRR clears air on bursary issue

305

The SA Institute of Race Relations (SAIRR) has dissociated itself from remarks made by the consul-general of Japan that students studying in homelands may not receive bursaries sponsored by the Africa Society of Japan.

In a statement, it said: "The institute is one of the organisations mentioned ... as administering bursaries on behalf of this fund. It wishes to reiterate its policy that its bursaries are awarded on two criteria only — academic merit and financial need.

"The institute does not seek to dictate to its students as to which university they should attend, nor did it ever agree in discussions with the consulate-general to exclude any university."

(305) C/News 7/9/87

AG calls for new Kei trial

CP Correspondent

THE extraordinary case of 12 people accused of terrorism who escaped from a Transkei court when their case was unexpectedly struck off the roll, comes under the legal spotlight again this week.

There was pandemonium in the Umtata Magistrate's Court when the case was suddenly dismissed. Twelve of the 25 accused managed to escape, but police recaptured the remaining eight.

Today the Transkei Supreme Court is to hear an application by the Transkei Attorney General, Christo Nel, to have the magistrate's ruling which freed the group set aside.

At issue is an incident on August 20, when 20 people made an appearance in an Umtata Magistrate's Court on a charge of treason which was dismissed by the magistrate, Joe Lukwago-Mogwera. – Elnews.

Mogoba is new SAIRR president

THE Reverend Stanley Mogoba has been elected unopposed as new president of the South African Institute of Race Relations.

He succeeds Dr Stuart Saunders.

Mogoba, secretary of the Conference of the Methodist Church of Southern Africa, was elected during the annual council meeting of the institute in Johannesburg at the weekend.

He said his election came "at an historic or challenging moment in the life of South Africa". He added that the SAIRR had a vital role to play in providing a platform for groups in South Africa to share their vision of the future.

Mogoba, 54, was appointed as a minister while serving a six-month term in solitary confinement during a three-year prison sentence of Robben Island.

He has written widely and has travelled extensively. He is also a member of a number of international ecumenical bodies, including the World Methodist Council. He is married, has four children and lives in Kwa Mashu, Natal.

In keeping with tradition, Saunders was elected as one vice-president. Professor Wiseman Nkuhlu, vice-chancellor of the University of Transkei, Professor Lawrence Schlemmer and Sir Richard Luyt were also elected vice-presidents.

One new member of the executive committee was also elected. He is Professor Elwyn Jenkins, director of the Mamelodi campus of Vista University. – Sapa

Delegation snubbed

By SELLO SERIPE

A DELEGATION of eight, comprising of two lay workers, five Soweto priests and Auxilliary Bishop of Johannesburg, Bishop Patric Mvemve – were this week stunned when Councillor Letsatsi Radebe allegedly staged a walk-out during a meeting at Soweto council chambers.

The meeting between the Minister's United for Christian Co-responsibilty and Soweto Management Committee was intended to facilitate a meeting between the council and the Soweto Civic Association to resolve the rent crisis.

However, the meeting continued despite his absence.

City Press failed to get comment from Radebe.

Town Clerk Nico Malan, however, confirmed that they held a meeting with the priests who presented them with a memorandum.

In the memorandum the priests appealed to the councillors to appoint Malan as a negotiator and to start talking to the SCA in an attempt to resolve the rent crisis.

An earlier meeting planned a fortnight ago between the SCA and Town Clerk Nico Malan failed to take place after the association's office at Ipelegeng Community Centre was allegedly raided by the security police and files and a typewriter seized.

Delegation spokesman, Rev Sipho Masemola, said Radebe had accused the group of allowing anti-council meetings to be held in their churches.

Radede allegedly walked out before the churchmen could defend themselves.

Meanwhile, the SCA general secretary, Patrick Lephunya, said that the association had no mandate from the community to talk to councillors.



Nico Malan

305 Hilary 15/9/87

R4,22m bursary boost for SAIRR

THEO RAWANA

THE US government has given the SA Institute of Race Relations (SAIRR) a R4,22m injection for bursaries to be awarded to black, coloured and Indian students from all parts of SA next year.

SAIRR director John Kane-Berman recently signed a pledge for the amount with US representatives. The sum swells the SAIRR's already large bursary scheme and brings the amount the institute has for US-sponsored bursaries to R11,95m.

The institute has already sent out more than 8 000 application forms in response to requests for bursaries 1988. A further 12 000 requests for application forms are to be processed.

The institute has sponsored 128 students — 38 in 1985 and 90 last year — through universities, technikons and teacher-training colleges since the bursary scheme was started two years ago, Dennis Venter of the institute's bursary department said.

Applications should be directed to the bursary manager, PO Box 32597, Braamfontein. Forms must be returned by October 31.

SAPA reported an SAIRR statement said: "Funds have also been earmarked for bridging programmes to compensate for the deficiencies in the black schooling system in South Africa.

"Bursaries are awarded by the institute on the basis of the student's academic ability and financial circumstances. Students are funded for their complete degree or diploma, subject to satisfactory progress."

"The institute awards its bursaries after a careful selection process by a committee comprising representatives of the community and academic institutions. When necessary, allowances for books, accommodation, and transport are given to students over and above the provision for tuition."

cognition of the voter rolls.

SAIR survey looks at 1986

The South African Institute of Race Relations last week released its survey for 1986. JOSHUA RABOROKO looks at the two-part survey.

THE 1986 survey of the South African Institute of Race Relations focuses attention on various activities, including violence, detentions, trade unions, political movements and education in South Africa.

Figures compiled by the institute reveal that at least 1 298 died in political violence last year.

The institute says half of the fatalities resulted from "black-on-black" conflict, while deaths at the hands of the security forces accounted for about a third.

Several members of the Azanian People's Organisation were killed by the "necklace" method while others were threatened with death.

"The increased conflict within the black community occurred notably between the United Democratic Front (UDF) and Azapo, and the UDF and Inkatha. Whereas the UDF/Azapo conflict showed signs of abating, the UDF/Inkatha struggle gained in intensity as the year progressed.

"Vigilante groups played an increasingly significant role in the violence throughout the country," the survey says.

There was an increase in insurgency, including acts of sabotage, bombings, the planting of land mines and armed attacks.

It says the SADF launched raids inn Botswana, Zambia and Zimbabwe in May against ANC targets and threatened to raid Mozambique.

Violent unrest affected parts of the most "homelands" during the year under review, particularly Bophuthatswana, KwaNdebele and Lebowa.

Resistance between May and August to the KwaNdebele Legislative Assembly's plans to opt for independence on December 11 left an estimated 160 people dead and caused virtually three worker stayaways.

A total of 3989 people were detained under the Internal Security Act, while emergency detentions were estimated at 25 000, most of them school children, students and teachers. Four people died in detention.

In labour three federations — the Congress of South African Trade Unions, the National Council of Trade Unions and the United Workers' Union of South Africa — follow different ideologies and have varying pespectives regarding the future of this country.

The Trade Union Council of South Africa (Tucsa) dissolved during the year.

The State President, Mr P W Botha, offered to free the jailed leader of the ANC, Nelson Mandela, in exchange for the release of certain prisoners in Angola and the Soviet Union.

In October the UDF was declared an affected organisation and was thereby prohibited from receiving funds from abroad, according to the survey.

Referring to education, the survey says calls to open schools to all race groups were made, by among others, parents of pupils at several schools in the Western Cape, most white English teachers' organisations , teachers' organisations, and the PFP.

305 Sowetan 16/9/87.

of the federation by

REV MOGOBA IN TOP POST

THE Reverend Stanley Mogoba, chief executive officer of the Methodist Church of Southern Africa and a former Robben Island prisoner, has been elected unopposed as the new president of the South African Institute of Race Relations, the SAIRR said in Johannesburg yesterday.

He succeeds Dr Stuart Saunders, vice-chancellor of the University of Cape Town, who completed his two-year term on September 19.

Mr Mogoba was elected during the annual council meeting of the SAIRR in Johannesburg at the weekend, a news release said.

The new president said his election "could not have come at a more historic or challenging moment in the life of South Africa".

He added the SAIRR had a vital role to play in providing a platform for polarised groups in South Africa to share their vision of the future.

Mr Mogoba, (54), is strongly committed to dialogue in South Africa as a means of resolving the country's problems, according to the release.

Occasions

He has represented the South African Christian community on a number of occasions in talks with government, opposition, and "exiled organisations," it added.

He was the first black minister to be appointed to the influential post of secretary of the Methodist Church in 1981.

His call to the ministry came while serving a six-month term in solitary confinement during a three-year prison sentence on Robben Island. Mr Mogoba was detained for three months in 1963 and subsequently sentenced to three years on Robben Island for furthering the aims of the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC).

He has written widely and has travelled extensively in America, Europe and Australia, the release said.

He is a member of a number of international ecumenical bodies, including the World Methodist Council. He is married and has four children and lives in KwaMashu, Natal.

In keeping with tradition, Dr Saunders was elected as one of four vice-chancellors of the Institute.

Professor Wiseman Nkuhlu, vice-chancellor of the University of Transkei, was also elected as a new vice-president. The other two vice-chancellor-presidents were Professor Lawrence Schlemmer and Sir Richard Luyt.



REV STANLEY Mogoba.

NQUIRIES — TELEPHONE EAST LONDON 26141

305 DY 23/11/87

Blacks disadvantaged if act repealed says SAIRR

JOHANNESBURG —Repeal of the Group Areas Act, if not accompanied by wider changes, could disadvantage blacks, a number of black people told interviewers for a survey by the SA Institute of Race Relations (SAIRR).

In a Press release on the survey, the SAIRR said black groups insisted the act's repeal would not be a major reform.

"A senior official of the predominantly black SA Council of Churches argued that repeal would allow whites, with enormous capital at their disposal, to buy up black-owned land, an argument which is also advanced by some government officials who defend the act.

"A senior UDF activist suggested that repeal would create new social problems.

"It would, he said, imply a change in government strategy in which market forces rather than the law would inhibit black access to land."

He added that it would cause increasing social problems and the market "would not be able to meet the housing needs of wage earners and pensioners".

The study of black opinion on the Group Areas Act, by a SAIRR research assistant, Mr Mossa Ebrahim, also said any attempt to evict black people living in Johannesburg's "grey areas" was now likely to be met with strong resistance which could result in conflict.

The report comes in the wake of recent evictions by landlords of black tenants from white areas in Johannesburg's flatland, and of a warning by the ultra-right-wing Blanke Bevrydingsbeweging (White Liberation Movement) that it would take action if government did not strictly enforce the act by January 31.

"Recent government threats to prosecute property owners 'illegally' letting to black tenants had promoted organised black resistance and raised the possibility of direct campaigns against the act."

The study was based on a series of interviews with black political, business and pressure groups.

It confirmed that black organisations unanimously demanded the repeal of the act.

They also rejected partial changes such as the local option formula recommended by the President's Council.

The SAIRR said these attitudes would come as no surprise to students of anti-apartheid politics.

"Behind them lies a rejection of incremental reform of apartheid, either because such reforms do not go far enough or because they are seen as attempts by the government to divide black opinion and thus to diffuse attempts to achieve political change. This view was held by most interviewees." — DDC

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NATIONAL/INTERNATIONAL Argus 13/11/87

UK business urged to boost SA reform

From MICHAEL MORRIS
The Argus Foreign Service

LONDON. — Some of South Africa's most important British business partners have been told that reform is continuing steadily and that they can help speed the process by boosting "action on the ground".

Mr John Kane-Berman, executive director of the South African Institute of Race Relations, has told businessmen in London that irrespective of the Government's public statements on political change, a virtually inexorable process of reform is occurring "from the bottom up".

Week-long visit

He said: "What we have told people in Britain is that this is happening not because the Government particularly wants to see the dismantling of apartheid but because it (apartheid) is crumbling under the weight of its own contradictions ... and it is action on the ground which forces Parliament to keep up and to change laws."

Mr Kane-Berman is nearing the end of a week-long visit to the British capital to brief institute members, including South African and British individuals and organisations, on the situation at home.



Mr Kent Durr

His contacts in the past week have included informal talks with London representatives of the African National Congress and Inkatha, a British MP, and members of the British Industry Committee on South Africa.

Meanwhile, the Deputy Finance Minister, Mr Kent Durr, has said in London that European countries are displaying a "new realism" towards South Africa and its political reform initiatives.

Mr Durr, on a two-week visit to Europe for meetings with South Africa's international bankers and industrial contact men, said sanctions and disinvestment had been "a hopeless failure in every respect".

The country's economy, far from being ruined, was moving out of its recession.

Mr Durr said he had found during his trip that Europeans were adopting a more pragmatic approach to encouraging political reform in South Africa.

He said: "People are looking at more realistic time-frames. Before, they were expecting the impossible of us.

Vital development

"There has been the realisation that the country is not going to go to revolution tomorrow morning, but also that we won't produce solutions tomorrow morning."

Many Europeans had come to believe, like Mrs Margaret Thatcher, "that the economic development of the region is vital for delivering political reform".

Mining law clause could enforce apartheid

A little-known clause in mining law would enforce residential apartheid in some mining districts, even if the Group Areas Act were repealed, research by the South African Institute of Race Relations has revealed.

Government officials told the institute last year that the clause would be repealed during the present parliamentary session.

The Government's willingness to go ahead with these plans may provide an early test of its reform intentions, the institute said this week.

The implications of the clause, Section 172 of the Mining Rights Act, are discussed in a report, "Land and Race", released by the institute as part of its continuing investigation into the Group Areas Act.

NO COLOURED OR BLACK

Section 172 affects the mining districts of the Witwatersrand, Heidelberg, Klerksdorp, and Free State. It states that "no coloured person or black" may live on proclaimed land in these districts, except in townships, compounds or other places which the Mining Commissioner may allocate to mine employees only.

At present, the clause has no practical effect because its provisions are over-ridden by the Group Areas Act. But if residential segregation was relaxed or abolished, the Mining Commissioner could use Section 72 to prevent blacks in these districts from living in "white" areas.

According to the publication, a Government official told the institute last year that Section 172 would be amended during the 1987 parliamentary session to eliminate discriminatory aspects. — Sapa.

Increasing burden of closing the racial gap



By CAS St LEGER

A GLOOMY picture of the still-wide gap between black and white — despite greater Government spending — has emerged from the SA Institute of Race Relations' latest social and economic study.

According to the institute's quarterly publication, Social and Economic Update, the Government would be unable to sustain the burden of increasingly subsidising black development without cutting into white spending.

Among Update's findings:

● Less than 10 percent of the population used electricity at home — and half of urban black houses would still be without electricity by the year 2000.

● About 63 percent of all privately owned motor vehicles were owned by whites; blacks owned 11,5 vehicles per 1 000 people.

● The black infant mortality rate was 39,6 deaths a 1 000 compared with 12,5 for whites.

● R395 per capita a year was spent on educating a black child, R2 746 on a white child.

● The classroom shortage for black children was 38 641; white schools had a surplus of 3 840 classrooms, representing 153 637 empty places.

"The inherited backlogs created by decades of apartheid may be so great that substantial Government spending will be needed to reduce them in the foreseeable future," the report said.

Racially-based restrictions on black business were still in force, while duplication of administrations continued to hamper the provision of education and health care, Update said.

Limit

Even the removal of all restrictions would not ensure that black business was able to compete with whites.

"The legacy of past restrictions has ensured that black business lacks capital, skills and access to markets and this will continue to limit its growth.

"This backlog appears to be reinforced by the attitudes of large white businesses and financial institutions, which appear reluctant to provide black business entrepeneurs with the resources they needs to compete."

Due to low Government financing priority, public health standards during the third quarter of 1987 had dropped sharply.

Less than four percent of blacks, 30 percent of Indians and coloureds — but more than 80 percent of whites — were covered by medical aid schemes, and "if, as seems likely, the trend towards private care continues to grow, so will disparities between white and black health care".

Son of Sekhukhuneland outlines his vision for SA

Cape Times 7/1/88 305 (15)

The Rev Stanley Mogoba was elected president of the South African Institute of Race Relations in September last year. In this interview with Race Relations News editor Theo Coggin he spells out his vision for a South Africa free of violence and racial emphases.

STANLEY MOGOBA, small in stature, found himself catapulted into the big league in the space of just five weeks in the spring of last year.

He was elected president of the South African Institute of Race Relations for a two-year term, chairman of the board of Interdenominational African Enterprise, and president-elect of the Methodist Church of Southern Africa, an election which is even more significant than it would appear in that he will be the first president of this denomination to hold the office for three years.

At first the media largely ignored the significance of the election of this quietly-spoken son of Sekhukhuneland, north of Pretoria, to these three influential positions. It was only when he was detained at the beginning of November that they appeared to realize at last that this diminutive Methodist pastor occupied leadership posts that enabled him to straddle an extremely wide constituency — a rare cat in South Africa today.

Typically, Mr Mogoba is modest about his elevation to these positions, although he does see considerable significance in them.

He believes that his election to such positions illustrates a yearning on the part of the large middle-ground in South Africa — "people who want something to happen, but are not able to actually get it off the ground". Such people, he told *Race Relations News* in an interview in his Durban office, are to be found in increasing numbers in the black and white communities of South Africa.

New beginning

"There are lots of people who greeted my election to the presidency with real joy, hoping that perhaps this may be the beginning of people who have been silent actually standing up and saying: 'We believe that we have a stake in the country and that we have a role to play in this national struggle'."

Mr Mogoba said he saw a clear link in his election to these three positions. All three organizations were involved in attempts to bring about racial reconciliation in South Africa.

"The very fact that these appointments came at the same time seemed to affirm that people are saying: 'Please lead us in this particular area' because many of these people know exactly where I stand on the issues facing us in South Africa."

He added that he believed his past — "my varied and chequered career and life" — was a preparation for the important tasks that faced him. He pointed out that he was in a position to talk to the leaders of various political organizations that did not neccessarily talk to one another.

"A lot of people are expecting a lot. I don't know how I will do it, but I will try to interpret what they feel, where they stand, and try and help them in this way. I have been most overwhelmed by the responses I got after my Institute election — telephone messages and letters, verbal messages from the most unexpected places the world over."

Mr Mogoba indicated that it is hard to feel "thoroughly confident" in the face of such expectations but that he believes the time is right for strong leadership to show that the middle ground has a voice.

In a wide-ranging interview, Mr Mogoba dealt with a number of critical issues. Among these were:

Need to talk

● Political leadership and participation. There was a desperate need for the leaders of the different political groups to talk to each other. He believed that people were not talking to each other at the moment, "because they believe they are not yet in the talking game, and talking at the moment — let's face it — is looked down upon. People say that one is not realistic when one starts to talk about talking. They say that you are really just wanting to soften the hard lines which people have taken, which they believe will bring gains."

But that could change when people began to talk.

Another factor that had to be taken into consideration, however, was that while whites had been able to take part in the political arena in relative freedom since 1960, the two major black organizations, the African National Congress and the Pan Africanist Congress, had been banned.

"So now we have a situation in the townships where there is really no way in which people can communicate with each other in political terms. In a typical township like KwaMashu, where I live, for example, when young people or a group of people feel that certain actions should be taken — such as not going to work or observing a certain holiday — they have none of the (normal) ways of communicating with the community. So what they do is they wait for cars and throw stones at them. And by doing that they're sending a message. They throw stones, and that's communication."

Key to crisis

Mr Mogoba said a key to resolving the crisis in South Africa would be to unban political organizations, allow free expression and free debate so that people could communicate openly. In this way policies would emerge and policies would be changed in the political interaction that would take place.

Asked whether he thought it was realistic to expect there to be free debate and expression, if such banned organisations were declared legal, Mr Mogoba said that it might well be that there were people today who believed that the best thing was to have an atmosphere of confusion, such as existed, or to have contiuing violence or even a military takeover "as a way of expediting things towards a solution that suits them". He conceded that that sort of action could take place.

"But I think that sort of situation can be turned around if there is free political debate."

● Political beliefs, Mr Mogoba said he believed that South Africa should develop a non-racial democracy. This meant that people would have to break out of their ghettos of ignorance and superstition in terms of race in which they have thrived for so many years. Although cultural identities would have to be respected, this should be done with the purpose of taking a positive view of plurality.

"In other words, we should see our plural cultures as a richness, not as a point of friction, of fighting, and of arrogance, or of trying to assume a position of superiority over another cultural group."

Mr Mogoba decried the division between English- and Afrikaans-speaking South Africans and the wedges that had been driven, by various people, between black people in South Africa.

Freedom

Democracy, he said, meant full participation by all the people living in a given country. This implied the existence of freedom of expression, of speech, and of movement.

He dismissed countries that claimed to be democratic but didn't have any freedoms.

"We do not want to move in South Africa from one form of enslavement to another form of enslavement. We want a real free state where people will be able to exercise their rights to be human and to be different in a very clear way. And they could do this without threatening anyone at all."

Mr Mogoba said that one of the things that should not be allowed to happen in Africa was the development of totalitarian states.

"Africa in particular is in need of freedom, of people who are available to give their best because they are free to do so, and unless we have freedom, people will not be able to contribute their best.

● Discrimination. Mr Mogoba, a former prisoner on Robben Island, said there had been a time in his life when he had been extremely bitter.

"This bitterness burned me and virtually consumed me at the time until I realized that I should not be the one who was suffering. The person who should be feeling the sort of burning within himself, such as I was feeling, was the one who was perpetrating that suffering on me. That was the point when I realized that one needs to be able to move out of a situation of suffering and discrimination.

Building a future

"At the time I was in the hands of people who were dehumanized and we were all in the process of being dehumanized. If that process were to be allowed to continue then one would have a situation of people who were not only polarized but were also all dehumanized. And that is why you and I have to look around for other ways of building a future. One cannot do that with dehumanized people, people who are polarized. One does that with people who have begun to see a new vision, people who have begun to understand what it may mean to share South Africa as one country.

"It is easy to destroy what we have. But instead of destroying we should be calling the people of South Africa to be building."

"I tie up freedom with creativity, the notion of people being enabled to be creative."

The new Institute president said that one could not talk about freedom without talking about justice. This implied respect for the individual and a system in which no group dominated the other. The rights of the individual and of groups should be protected by a bill of rights.

Part of Africa

Speaking from a churchman's point of view, he said that one had to remember that although many states attempted to arrive at an ideal situation, this perspective of the church said that when one had detailed what one thought was correct, one still had to reckon with the reality of human sin and deal with it.

● South Africa's position in Africa. Mr Mogoba said that he foresaw the day when South Africa would take a role of leadership in Africa "and also play its part in growing together with the fellow states in Africa". South Africans needed to recognize that they were part of Africa and that it would be an important part of its development, and the future of the subcontinent.

● Foreign influence. Financial aid should never be accepted without ensuring that there are no strings attached, Mr Mogoba said. This applied also to aid such as military assistance. Aid given by foreign powers to any organization could later be used as a form of manipulation.

Financial aid could also become simply another form of imperialism whereby South Africans would be made to tow the line of the super powers.

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Anonymous letter a crude forgery, says race institute

JOHANNESBURG. — A four-and-a-half page anonymous letter sent to newspaper editors on the letterhead of the South African Institute of Race Relations is a crude forgery, the institute's executive director, Mr John Kane-Berman, said today.

The letter appears on a "confidential briefing" letterhead used by the institute for specialist reports written for members.

The anonymous author, who signs himself "disgusted", claims to be an employee of the institute involved in "sensitive" issues, including Operation Hunger.

The writer further claims to have access to confidential papers regarding Operation Hunger projects.

Mr Kane-Berman said: "The allegations in the letter are pure nonsense. Operation Hunger ceased to be an institute project on October 1 1984. All the alleged 'backdoor' activities of Operation Hunger supposedly run at the institute's offices are claimed by the anonymous author to have occurred after this date."

Mr Kane-Berman said the letter was a mischievous forgery and the institute would lay a complaint with the police. — Sapa.

SAIRR lay DID 4/04/88 complaint against letter 305

JOHANNESBURG — The South African Institute of Race Relations (SAIRR) is to lay a complaint with the South African Police over an anonymous letter on an SAIRR letterhead, in which the writer alleges Operation Hunger (OH) has been supporting communist causes.

The SAIRR director, Mr John Kane-Berman, said the letter sent to various newspaper editors was a mischievous forgery.

The anonymous author, who signed himself or herself "Disgusted", claimed to be an SAIRR employee, with access to confidential documentation regarding OH projects exercised at SAIRR offices.

"As far as the institute is concerned, the allegations contained in the letter are pure nonsense," Mr Kane-Berman said.

"OH ceased to be an institute project in October, 1984. All the alleged 'back-door' activities of OH, supposedly run at the institute's offices, are claimed by the author to have occurred after this date."

The anonymous writer accused OH of promoting the aims of the ANC "in their move to destabilise the economy" by feeding workers on strike. He/she named employees of three parastatal, or former parastatal, corporations as recipients of this aid.

OH's director, Mrs Ina Perlman, said the organisation did not feed strikers wittingly. She said OH was concerned with effects, not causes. — DDC.

Non-violence is effective in SA — Kane-Berman

LONDON — It was quite untrue to claim non-violent strategies could not bring about change in SA, John Kane-Berman, SA Institute of Race Relations executive director, said.

In a speech prepared for delivery this morning at a London conference organised by the world-wide consultancy group Business International, Kane-Berman said at least six important policy changes in SA had come about or were well under way as a result of non-violent strategies. They were:

- ☐ The steady erosion of the industrial colour bar;
- ☐ The steady erosion of educational apartheid;
- ☐ Continuing and widening social desegregation;
- ☐ The statutory recognition of black trade union rights;
- ☐ The steady erosion of the Group Areas Act; and
- ☐ The abolition of most influx control laws.

"These changes are substantial to prove conclusively the success of non-violent strategies," Kane-Berman said.

It was therefore untrue to claim, as some people did, that non-violent strategies had failed to bring about change, and that it was therefore justified and/or necessary to turn to violence.

Kane-Berman said government was only one of the actors involved in change.

In many cases, he said, change had been brought about by others, and government had had to follow suit.

For example, government gave official recognition to black trade unions only after unions and employers had started signing wage agreements irrespective of government's wishes.

The Group Areas Act was being eroded not because government wanted this but because black people were moving into white areas in spite of the Act making this illegal.

Kane-Berman said the lesson of the violent disturbances in SA in 1960, 1976 and more recently was that violence did not threaten government's hold on power.

However, he said, the Soweto upheavals had jolted business and government out of their complacency with regard to conditions in black townships.

He added: "Obviously non-violent tactics and strategies do not automatically work.

"They have to be well thought out, and questions of timing, relative bargaining power and so on have to be considered, but their viability is beyond question.

"What is still open to question is how successful such strategies will be in the field of political negotiation." — Sapa.

Open school would hurt relations

DURBAN — Glenwood High School has been told it was not allowed to admit all races because this "would not have a positive effect on inter-group relations and could even be regarded as mere tokenism".

A request from parents to the Education Department for permission to open the Durban school to all had been turned down.

In a letter read at the school's annual meeting this week, Education and Culture Minister Piet Clase said: "Any enrolment of selected pupils from other than the white group (as has been proposed) would not have a positive effect on inter-group relations and could even be regarded as mere tokenism."

The meeting decided to pursue the matter. — Sapa.

305 B/day 18/2/88

THE SA Institute of Race Relations has had to turn away most of the record 34 000 black, coloured and Indian students who applied for bursaries this year. Acting director Theo Coggin said a lack of funding meant the institute could only award 277 new bursaries for 1988.

Bannings will hurt the economy

B/Day 2/3/88

Edited extracts from an address by JOHN KANE-BERMAN (right), Executive Director of the SA Institute of Race Relations, to MBA students at the Wits Graduate School of Business Administration yesterday



ECONOMIC growth has steadily undermined apartheid structures and practices. For the first 20 years of its rule since 1948, the National Party sought to resist the liberalising consequences of growth, but in more recent years it has switched to a policy of trying to accommodate and contain them.

Which are the main social and political issues that still need to be addressed? Among the 10 broad categories are:

SOCIAL SEGREGATION: the remnants of so-called "petty apartheid" have to be removed, whether this is on Durban's last "whites only" beach or Johannesburg's buses — whose drivers, believe it or not, still have the authority to kick black passengers off.

It is necessary in my view not only to repeal the Reservation of Separate Amenities Act, but to replace it with a law forbidding racial discrimination in public amenities.

Restrictions

BLACK BUSINESS: many of the restrictions aimed at stifling black business have been lifted since the mid Seventies, but black businessmen are still subject to restrictions aimed at them in particular — in addition to the plethora of bureaucratic and ideological controls applicable to all business.

EDUCATION: government has acquiesced in the steady erosion of apartheid in universities and at private schools, and the racial quotas applicable to technikons are about to be abandoned. But government schools and teacher training colleges remain rigidly segregated.

With an increase of 3 500% in State expenditure on black education in the last 15 years, substantial progress has been made in reducing the per capita spending gap between white and black schoolchildren, from 18-to-one in 1971/2 to seven-to-one today.

This seems like a major achievement — until one remembers that the gap was seven-to-one in 1953, when Dr Verwoerd nationalised the mission schools. So what appears like real progress has really done nothing more than bring us back to square one.

HOUSING: the estimate one most frequently sees in the Press is that the black shortage is around 500 000 units. These figures overlook the homelands, and if one takes them into account the shortage is closer to 1,1-million.

TRANSPORT: the main problem here is one of cost rather than of backlogs. Because of the Group Areas Act, the distances black people have to travel to work are among the longest in the world.

Because black people are the poorest in the country, huge subsidies are necessary — South African Transport Services thus lost R600m on commuter services alone last year because (mainly black) suburban commuters pay only a third of the economic fare.

It is tragic that the proceeds of government's privatisation programme, instead of carrying SA on to a new and higher social and economic plateau, will merely go some of the way towards making up the backlogs caused by apartheid.

Subordinated

The State, in other words, will be selling off public assets not to gain new ground but merely to make up lost ground, and even then there are disturbing signs that privatisation will also be subordinated to ideology.

On one hand government has accepted black urbanisation as a *fait accompli* by abolishing the pass laws, but on the other it casts long, lingering looks over its shoulder at its costly and largely futile decentralisation policies.

I don't wish to decry the need to upgrade rural areas, whether in or outside the homelands. I am not one of those people who thinks that money should not be spent in the homelands — where, after all, half the black population lives. But policies designed to manipulate development in furtherance of racial ideology have surely done enough damage to this country already.

The key political issue facing the country is quite simple to define: it is to devise a formula for legitimate government — that is, a constitution acceptable to the majority of adult South Africans.

The questions is: how do we get there? It applies not only to national government, but also to lower levels of government, notably local government, where black dissatisfaction runs extremely high.

The only level of government where any progress has been made towards legitimacy is at the provincial level, where the KwaZulu/-Natal Indaba, after eight months of arduous negotiation, devised a formula for majority rule tempered by special protections for minorities.

At national level, government proposes to set up a national council as a forum in which black leaders can negotiate with it about a new constitution. So far, no blacks with real political clout have agreed to join the council so that it is likely to be stillborn.

The restrictions imposed last week on various black and non-racial political and other organisations have probably effectively sabotaged the council anyway.

The clampdown imposed teaches us a number of lessons.

Firstly, government has become complacent about further sanctions. It must know that the restrictions will be privately welcomed by pro-sanctions lobbyists abroad; and that they have substantially weakened Margaret Thatcher's position within the Commonwealth.

Secondly, opponents of government have also allowed themselves to be lulled into a false sense of complacency. In one sense it is surprising the clampdown has been so long in coming. To my mind it has always been extraordinary that in the 10 years of his rule President Botha has allowed a resurgence of militant black opposition.

Strategic lesson

After all, his predecessor, Vorster, waited no more than 16 months after the outbreak of violence in Soweto in 1976 before banning all 18 of the organisations he believed were responsible; Dr Verwoerd had waited barely two months when he banned the ANC and PAC after the Sharpeville disturbances.

Thirdly, the strategic lesson is that one should avoid confronting government from a position of weakness. There is absolutely no substitute whatsoever in politics for the hard grind of organisation, including squeezing membership fees out of your supporters.

The financial assistance that some of the restricted organisations received from foreign sources is no substitute for the consolidating and binding effect of funding from your own membership base.

This, after all, is how the black trade unions survived the onslaught of both government and employers in the early and middle part of the Seventies.

What reaction can one expect? There is very little love lost between the great majority of whites and the restricted organisations, so that government has little to lose on that front.

Weakness

As far as reaction in black ranks is concerned, the structural weakness of most of the organisations in question, plus the earlier emergency restrictions on them, plus the deep political divisions within the black community, will probably combine to ensure that government gets away with its actions.

One negative consequence, from its point of view, is that the national council will not get off the ground. Government was probably coming to realise that it never had much chance anyway.

Well, then, why should there be any reservations of a realpolitik nature about the restrictions? Quite simply because, historically, bannings do not work in the long-term. The high profile of the ANC 28 years after it was banned testifies to this, and needs no elaboration.

Secondly, if banning certain organisations is intended to strengthen other organisations and encourage them to negotiate with government, this does not work either. The banning of supposed radicals make it more, not less, difficult for supposed moderates to negotiate.

Nafcoc, Umsa and Inkatha are among the organisations which have demanded the release of Nelson Mandela as the very minimum before they will negotiate with government. They are now simply going to have to add to the list of preconditions.

Thirdly, bannings may stabilise things in the short-term, but they radicalise and polarise in the long-term. Anyone familiar with the last 28 years is familiar enough with this for it to need no elaboration.

QUOTE:

It is tragic that the proceeds of government's privatisation programme, instead of carrying SA on to a new and higher social and economic plateau, will merely go some of the way towards making up the backlogs caused by apartheid

305 4/3/88 B/day.



FRIEDMAN ... "Interest from government"

The SA Institute of Race Relations has emerged from its flirtation with the radical left and, step-by-step, is winning back respect for its independence and the authority of its research. Once again it has become recognised as a powerful generator of creative political thought. Deputy Editor NEIL JACOBSOHN reports ...

Back on the track of plotting the process of change

IN A political landscape scarred on the left and the right by intellectual sterility, the SA Institute of Race Relations is, oasis-like, producing a fresh, cold stream of reasoned thinking.

Scorning the rhetoric of either extreme, it is meticulously analysing the process of change, identifying opportunities to advance towards its goal of a SA free of racial discrimination and devising strategies to implement such opportunities.

If that sounds like a detached, even clinical, approach to the hugely emotional upheaval of change, that's exactly what it is meant to be. Its contribution to change, the Institute has decided, will be in the form of influential research.

Anyone seeking a working knowledge on the Institute's vision needs look no further than a seminal paper by its policy research manager, Steven Friedman, published (finally) in the SA Foundation's latest quarterly bulletin.

It is entitled simply and appropriately "Understanding Reform". It argues that, as government is immensely powerful, change will not come rapidly. Rather, change will consist of the gradual erosion of apartheid which, in turn, will make further erosion possible. So-called reform, says Friedman, is a symptom of the erosion.

This creates opportunities to break from unidimensional protest politics into the business of influencing change. Reform should therefore not be rejected as irrelevant or counter-productive any more than it should be uncritically embraced. Rather, it should be used to up the pace of change, he writes.

The approach is based on growing evidence — much of it gathered by the Institute itself — that partial change in SA has led to wider change, even though this may initially have been the very opposite of what government intended. Says Friedman: "There is not a single example over the past decade of a reform which has strengthened white control and there are numerous examples of reforms which have weakened it."

Implicit is the realisation that change is never the result of pressure from a single source, so the next phase must be to identify the key actors — all of them — in a given situation of change. Very often the key players in this "informal alliance" would be horrified to learn that they were in the same camp, says Friedman.

Then it's a matter of getting the detailed research on that issue to all the players and facilitating, more than lobbying, in the hope of nudging change into being.

By another name, it's the art of the possible; the acceptance of the reality of incremental change. "I think our motto could be 'Slow and steady wins the race,' with a logo showing the tortoise overtaking the hare," quips the Institute's executive director John Kane-Berman, only half-joking.

Incongruous though his imagery may be, Kane-Berman is articulating a courageous stand. Even now that the deceptive glow of the quick fix has faded, the concept of gradual change by participation remains an intensely unpopular view among the hard left "all-or-nothing" brigade.

Behind the Institute's recovered intellectual respectability lies a bloody battle, and a philosophy faithful to traditional liberal ground-rules hammered out in the early Eighties by Kane-Berman and the late Ernie Wentzel, one of SA's most creative legal minds and a great humanist. Their success is illustrated by the currency the Institute's research has gained in circles from, in Kane-Berman's words, "those in government to those in exile".

But it was not that simple. By the start of the decade the Institute had drifted into the arid and vicious circle of protest politics. Links forged between the front of anti-apartheid bodies brought, instead of solidarity, arid uniformity. The same people gathered at the same meetings to hear the same people vie to outdo each other in their condemnation of the same filthy racist regime in Pretoria.

Into that slithered the seductive rhetoric of the quick fix, the deception that all apartheid needed to roll over and die was one good shove. It carried before it organisation after organisation, from the ANC to the UDF to the Black Sash to the English universities and even the PFP.

Wentzel, Kane-Berman and a handful of others held out, but not without much bloodshed. The left was unwilling to loosen its grip; indeed, even today much poison remains.

It was not until near-bankruptcy focused minds that they were able to take action.

The Institute had become trapped in a mish-mash of social and community projects, each answering a need, but most wholly inappropriate to the nature of the organisation. "We were running Operation Hunger, a bursary programme, extra classes for black matrics, unemployment bureaux, arts and crafts shops, dance workshops ... and most of them at a loss. Administration was in a shambles. Not only were they a massive drain on resources, but they forced research, our traditional strength, on to the farthest backburner," says Kane-Berman.

He was appointed director in September 1983, and by the end of that year two steps were taken: to restore research to pride of place, and to hive off all the charitable activities on their own. "It had to be simply a business decision," says Kane-Berman.

Pressed, he admits there was more to it than that. "There was a feeling we had politically lost direction; that we had become just another protest organisation doing nothing except criticising government. I don't deny for a second the right of validity or protest, but increasingly we felt we were getting nowhere, that government wasn't listening."

The move back to the total objectivity of research forced tough questions, such as whether a liberal organisation like the Institute really had a role or whether it was simply part of a "mutually reinforcing ghetto of the left, listening to no one except each other, reaching no one except each other. We had to break out of the laager and start reaching the unconverted".

What emerged was Friedman's Policy Research Unit. The aim: to analyse in detail how change that had occurred — the striking example being in the labour field — had come about and to identify where further change could be facilitated.

Says Friedman: "We chose areas for research where we believed there was potential for change, such as the desegregation of educational institutions, Group Areas, migrant labour. We have not researched fields like security, where there is obviously no sign of fluidity."

Now, says Kane-Berman, "the ANC quotes our political violence statistics in Sechaba and government, by direct word of a Cabinet Minister, accepts our research as factual and non axe-grinding".

Friedman adds: "What excites me is that there is a fundamental change in our relationship with the key actors, most evident in government. Five years ago we would occasionally go and see a Minister, tell him he was wrong and be politely ignored. Now we are seeing direct interest from government in our research, and direct requests to see it." Significantly, an equivalent level of interest is being shown on the opposite side of the political spectrum, add Institute officials.

New potential means new challenges, and the focus now is to get the product to the right people. "We are going to devote our resources to extending our penetration of the market, to get our research on to the desks of decision-makers from every walk," says Kane-Berman. "The broad goal of a vision of a society free of statutory apartheid is not fanciful, it is achievable."

12 1988

Peeling the apartheid onion

This week the eecutive director of the South African Institute of Race Relations, Mr J S KANE-BERMAN, addressed a dinner for editors on the work being done by his institute. Here is an edited version of his speech.



Harvey Tyson is on leave. Because of a communications problem, the promised second part to last week's column will appear in The Saturday Star next weekend.

Our role — promoting change through research designed to assist people working for change — is fundamentally different from the protest politics that has become so prevalent on the Government's Left. At one stage the institute drifted into that kind of politics, but we have now removed ourselves from it.

We have done an autopsy of the most important changes that have occurred in the past 15 years in order better to understand how they came about. Our investigations yielded the following ground rules:

First, objective forces such as population growth, economic growth, skilled labour shortages and urbanisation often create conditions that necessitate policy changes.

Second, the application of subjective pressure by organised groups is also crucially important: black unions, for example, campaigned for their rights, homeless black people moved out of overcrowded townships into vacant accommodation in Hillbrow, businessmen trained blacks for skilled work despite laws prohibiting this.

Third, in Pretoria Verwoerdian policies have been found to be unworkable and belief in that whole ideological structure has crumbled. With nothing to replace it, people applying subjective pressure have a much greater chance of eroding apartheid.

There are three key lessons to be drawn from this. The first is the Government is only one of the actors in the change process. In some instances it has been the least important, in that its main role was to do nothing.

The Government knew private schools were inceasingly being desegregated, contrary to its wishes, but it was prevailed upon to look the other way, or at least to pretend to be looking the other way.

The second follows from the first: reform in this country is a process that happens on the ground first and is only thereafter translated into law. The pass laws were repealed in 1986 only after they had become largely unenforceable because of hundreds of thousands of black people moving to town.

Third, one of the ways in which the Government has sought to cope with the process of change is by making limited concessions of a "thus-far-and-no-further" nature, hoping the limited concession would reduce the pressure for further change.

In practice, this has seldom worked, and there is no reason to suppose that it will work in the future.

I have likened the whole process of change to that of peeling an onion. The onion represents apartheid, with so-called petty apartheid, such as the old prohibition on black consumption of hard liquor, on the outer layers, and the most important apartheid statute, the Population Registration Act, at the core.

As you peel off each layer you expose the one underneath. Repeal the pass laws and you remove the layer protecting the Group Areas Act, because increased urbanisation resulting from the repeal of the pass laws in the context of a huge housing shortage in the black townships simply squeezes more people out of those townships into white suburbs.

The other point about the process of peeling off the layers of the onion is that once you have peeled them off, you cannot put them back again.

Would a Treurnicht government thus be able to reimpose influx control, resegregate sport, reintroduce job reservation, or outlaw black unions?

Our approach has a number of implications:

- First, non-violent action is capable of bringing about important changes. So are ordinary people. Hundreds of thousands of ordinary blacks did not need the ballot box to make the pass laws unworkable. They just voted against them with their feet, just as they are continuing to vote against the Group Areas Act with their feet.
- Cabinet Ministers say that the desegregation of Durban's beaches has cost them 100 000 votes. But as with ordinary black people, there has been an equally striking capacity on the part of white men and woman to adjust to changed circumstances.

If one thinks of the extensive desegregation that has actually taken place, the remarkable thing is how free of ugly incidents it has been, and how increasing numbers of whites see it as being in their own interests.

- Thirdly, there is a declining will on the part of the Government to resist the erosion of apartheid.

One of our researchers has recently completed a study, which we will be publishing shortly, entitled "The Greying of Johannesburg". It reports how the Government several times threatened to confiscate illegally occupied property in Hillbrow, evict illegal people and so on, but for a variety of reasons did not do so.

Part of our research involves examining the arguments put forward by those who oppose change. On group areas, for example, we have been able to show pretty convincingly, using police statistics, that there is no correlation between high crime rates and desegregation, contrary to claims.

You have a greater chance of being mugged in Lombardy East, for example, than in Mayfair or Hillbrow. This suggests that white security is more endangered by the juxtaposition of poor black and rich white areas than by residential mixing. Our research also demonstrates that the repeal of the Group Areas Act would push property prices up in white areas, not down.

mac Varsity Letters to

15/3/88.

Sheena Duncan: 'If the hangings were public . . .'

If hangings were carried out in public at least the people would know of the dreadful things that are done in their name.

This was the opening statement by Mrs Sheena Duncan, former Black Sash president and a vice-president of the South African Council of Churches, in a working paper put to the recent Sash annual conference.

She continued: "The citizens would see that death is not always instantaneous. They would see that when men and women die in an extremity of fear their bowels may turn to water and they may defecate or urinate involuntarily.

"They would see that there are sometimes emissions of blood. They would know what the cold and deliberate taking of life means."

TEARGAS WAS USED

In a case reported in the Press in July 1981 it was disclosed that teargas was used to "calm down" four men who resisted when warders arrived to escort them to the gallows, Mrs Duncan recalled.

The prisons department statement on that occasion was: "It is of course always a possibility that a prisoner will refuse to leave his cell before his delivery to the place of execution — but this occurs only as the rarest exception.

"Naturally verbal persuasion as a means of handling the situation will be used in the first place. Only when this fails will other measures, as dictated by the circumstances, be considered."

1 114 PEOPLE HANGED

In the last 10 years South Africa had hanged 1 114 people, Mrs Duncan calculated. At the end of 1987 there were 268 people on Death Row.

"There can be no greater terror inflicted on any human being than knowing in advance the exact moment of one's death," Mrs Duncan argued.

She added that when PFP MP Mr Dave Dalling raised questions about hangings in Parliament, the Minister of Justice appealed to him to withdraw the questions because the answers would be "too gruesome".

Mrs Duncan pointed out that even some judges hated the death penalty.

She quoted Mr Justice G Coetzee, who retired in 1987, as saying: "I never counted how many people I sentenced to the death penalty. And I always felt awful when I did so. Usually I was unable to do anything else for the rest of that day."

Govt out to depoliticise open areas — SAIRR

27/4/88 SUE RUSSELL B/day

GOVERNMENT's announcement that Cabinet would take decisions on open areas after consulting a "board of experts" appeared to be an attempt to depoliticise these decisions, according to the SA Institute of Race Relations Quarterly Countdown (QC).

The QC added that the suggested procedure was a departure from the President's Council's suggestion that open areas be left to local authorities.

The procedure would be advantageous to government in that it would allow new open areas to emerge without bearing direct responsibility for the decision.

This would be far more depoliticised in practice than the proposed procedure for established suburbs.

According to the QC report, government MPs had noted that group areas policy was now focusing on the vested property rights of people living in desegregated areas.

In new areas no such rights existed and there would be no resistance from residents already there.

Blacks on council shelved

A shelved President's Council report had recommended 12 urban and non-independent homeland blacks be appointed to the council, according to the SA Institute of Race Relations.

The SAIRR's latest Quarterly Countdown says the report had been shelved because participating parties were reluctant to give up seats for black appointees.

A spokesman for the President's Council said last night the report had been "temporarily sidelined". He could not say when it would be completed or released.

SUE RUSSELL

The report preceded President P W Botha's announcement last week that blacks could be given a place on a restructured council when its term expired at the end of the life of the present Parliament.

B/day 27/4/88.

Little change in SA

THE South African Institute of Race Relation recent research underlines its long-held belief tha change in South Africa is neither as imminent nc as remote as predicted.

In a fifty-one page publication researcher Steve Friedman notes that outbreaks of unrest in 1976 an 1984 led many to confidently predict that "th system" was about to collapse.

"Such predictions were replaced by equall confident assertions that even partial change ha become remote once the unrest had been quelled".

The publication, entitled *Reform Revisited,* is follow-up to an earlier paper by Friedmar *Understanding Reform,* in which he argued that th Government's reform plans were reactions to a loss c control which had driven it into unchartered territory This had created new space for further erosion of Stat control.

In his conclusion on *Reform Revisited,* Friedmai notes that Government positions on issues such a Group Areas, Education, local government an regional government, confirmed that movemen towards desegregation would continue to fac substantial opposition.

Moving towards elitism

He also cautions against analyses which suggest that the Government is moving inexorably towards a system of multiracial elitism in which segregation will be abandoned, but effective white political control will remain intact.

Such analyses, he says, underestimate the pressures within the Government, and in white politics, for the retention of segregation in schools and living areas," not to mention local and national political structures".

Friedman emphasises, in the opening argument in his book, the pressing need "to go beyond slogans" in South Africa. Examining the process of change in South Africa, the publication points out that some political commentators still assume that the Government alone dictates the pace of change.

"This, however, overestimates the power of the Government. While the Government is under no direct threat from its opponents, it is not always able to control events in society.

"The pace of change depends primarily therefore on the extent to which pressures on existing policies build outside the Government's control," he writes.

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Murder

Erosion of black leadership blamed

SAIRR leader warns that a 'Beirut' looms

GLEN SHELTON

BLACK leadership in SA had consistently been eroded, resulting in violence and confusion which could lead to a local version of Beirut, the Rev Stanley Mogoba said in his annual presidential address to the SA Institute of Race Relations (SAIRR) yesterday.

Lack of leadership was a problem and a cause was the "systematic way in which the black community had been robbed of its leaders since 1960".

Lack of freedom had caused an "impossible situation which made it difficult for the people in the black community to communicate".

SA now had "at least two, if not three, generations of young people who have not known anything but restriction after restriction".

"Their lives have developed in the shadow of increasing militarisation on the part of the SA government, and increasing militarisation on the part of the liberation movements," said Mogoba.

Unless major accommodations could be reached in the near future, he predicted that "the day when internecine violence occurs within the Afrikaner community based on political differences is not far off".

Mogoba urged politicians and members of the liberation movements to start talking to each other to circumvent the violence.

A start would be for government to throw out the Group Areas Amendment Bill, the Slums Bill and the Prevention of Illegal Squatting Amendment Act, he said.

"Repeal the Group Areas Act. Repeal it now, because you (government) cannot enforce it or its amendments," he said.

Mogoba said he could not understand why the right wing was holding the country hostage.

"Only a foolish government would refuse to seek the best for all its people.

"Perhaps our government will remain foolish, but they have the opportunity to take action that could rank them in history with the wisest statesmen of their age."

Use pressure — SAIRR

DIANNA GAMES

FOREIGN governments, by virtue of their donations to SA education, had a unique opportunity to pressure the SA government — which was strapped for money for education — to remove racialism from its educational arena, SA Institute of Race Relations (SAIRR) deputy director Theo Coggin said in the UK yesterday.

At an international donors' workshop on educational initiatives for black South Africans, he said one of the options thus facing overseas organisations was to "dangle the carrot of investment in education in the face of the government".

He said it was a pity foreign donors to black education had cut themselves off from the SA government.

He suggested that foreign donors who found it difficult to deal directly with the SA government might consider using third parties.

The creed of the merchant takes a moral thrashing

KEN OWEN

A CURIOUS feature of the revival of liberalism in the past year or two is the virtual exclusion from the debate of any discussion of liberal principles. These principles can be summed up, in my view, as individual liberty, the rule of law, the democratic method, and the free market. To bring these ideas into humane balance is the perpetual challenge to liberal government.

So far as I can recall, only Charles Simkins, in his seminal lecture series at UCT, has openly confronted the question: what is liberalism? The Institute of Race Relations in Johannesburg is doing outstanding work in identifying mechanisms for change, but it concerns method, not principle.

The institute is not alone in arguing for non-violent, implicitly liberal, incremental strategies, but most of the discussion proceeds negatively from the realisation (well established in the past two years, as it was after Sharpeville) that revolutionary strategies must fail so long as whites command overwhelming firepower.

Speaking for myself, I hardly dare broach the subject of principles. Whenever I have done so I have come under quite withering attack, not from the declared enemies of liberalism, but from people who claim also to be liberals.

It happened when I criticised that outrageous report on the Conner Cruise O'Brien affair at UCT, and the exercise in liberal cowardice which led to it; it happened when I criticised the gagging of Helen Suzman and other liberals, under threat of bully-boy violence, by the liberal universities; it happened when I tried to add my pitiful political voice to the more august and ceremonial efforts of the liberal lawyers to win clemency for at least some of the Sharpeville Six.

Having been attacked so often for speaking too freely, I am wryly amused whenever I read some piffling press statement (copy to the International Press Institute) that purports to be defending my press freedom.

In fact, I need no protection. I keep a wary eye on the law, but it is riddled with loopholes — it merely takes intellectual energy to find them. I rather wonder why the vocal defenders of press freedom confine themselves to bleating, instead of saying and publishing what they think should be said or published. Obviously, it's easier to bleat than to exercise free speech.

Similarly, I have heard supposedly "liberal" professors of law solemnly intone their admiration for kangaroo courts (known as "people's courts") and mount Marxist attacks on the liberal heritage of law which still distinguishes this country from a lot of others. Worse, they listen in adoring silence to "revolutionary" attacks on liberal judges — Mr Justice Didcott in particular — for supposed "collaboration".

To be a liberal-minded judge has, I think, become almost as dangerous in "liberal" circles as to be a liberal-minded columnist. The difference is that judges can't defend themselves.

Of course, I come under impressive attack every time I refer to the virtue of freedom in economic life, without which (as the Marxists constantly argue on behalf of the deprived people they plan to feed and control) no other freedom is meaningful.

Harold Laski defined liberalism, pejoratively, as "the creed of the merchant," and I think that is correct. It is what distinguishes the US from the USSR, and Thatcher's vibrant Britain from the decaying slum of Harold Wilson. South African liberals, in the main, abhor the free market as they abhor eccentricity, diversity, non-conformism and all other untidiness. They are most comfortable doing good works for lesser beings.

As for those occasions when I insist (as I have done since the Progressive Party was fooling around with a qualified franchise) that this country will not come to rest until we accept one man, one vote — it causes the liberals to faint with embarrassment, and to whimper evasively about "negotiation". In fact, a universal franchise is a liberal non-negotiable.

The reasons for this pathological hostility in SA to the basic principles of liberalism is plain. Liberal thought in this country is all but stone dead, and all sorts of scavengers are clawing for its raiment. They want the symbolism, which wins approving recognition in the West, but they have lost faith in the free market, in the rule of law, in parliamentary institutions, in free speech and in the essential decency of the free human spirit.

As it happens, most of these ideas (the exception being Roman Dutch law) were brought to this country by English settlers. They received powerful support, and inspired leadership, from Anglicised European Jewry, but in the main the ideas themselves have not been successfully transplanted to this country.

African liberals, abandoned when the Liberal Party foolishly disbanded in 1968, have been routed by socialists and revolutionaries, and only a few liberal voices — Aggrey Klaaste and Nomavenda Mathiane have been mentioned in this space — are raised against the totalitarian tide.

Afrikaners, as Professor André du Toit of UCT has pointed out, had a brief flirtation with liberalism between 1850 and 1870, largely in the person of the Anglophile Andries Stockenstrom. But Stockenstrom was, as Du Toit notes, isolated from Afrikaners by his liberal stands, and most Afrikaner liberals since then have suffered the same fate. They are drummed out.

Influence for change within Afrikanerdom is wielded by enlightened conservatives like Stellenbosch's Willie Esterhuyse (author of "Farewell to Apartheid") while the liberals, sooner or later, must seek refuge in English institutions, as UDF members seek refuge in the American consulate.

The refuge is temporary. English liberals, frustrated by their own impotence, have been liquidating themselves by emigration, and by the systematic export of their children. The institutions of English life — church, university, schools, Parliament and press — no longer preserve their liberal character. The refugees take over the ruins.

The Anglican church, for example, has become the principal platform for an attack on the free market, and on the "creed of the merchant". The English universities, no longer places of free discourse, shelter black revolutionaries from contamination by liberal ideas, and shelter Afrikaners who have lost influence on their own people, and now sit like poor relations, carping at the quality of their intellectual accommodation.

As for the parliamentary tradition, the liberal PFP has almost been destroyed by its foolish policy of using outcast Afrikaners to mask its unacceptable Anglo-Saxon face.

Amid this wreckage, the pseudo-liberals huddle for warmth, valuing above all conformity, and peer approval — "solidarity". For them, liberalism is neither the politics of liberty under law, nor even a workable and efficient economic system, but a means to display superior moral virtue.

They are bright and dazzling, and serve much the same purpose as peacocks served in the decaying courts of imperial China. That is why so many black people hold liberals in such contempt.



KHOTSO House . . . scene of bomb blast.

COPS STILL BUSY

POLICE investigating the cause of a bomb that exploded at Khotso House last week were yesterday awaiting a go-ahead from the city engineer before they could enter the building's basement.

The police spokesman for the Witwatersrand, Captain Pierre Louw, said forensic experts had not completed their investigations because they had to get the city engineer's clearance to enter the basement.

He said it was "unsafe" to enter the basement because of structural damage done to the building during the explosion.

Captain Louw said claims that a group of rightwingers calling themselves the "White Wolves" had claimed responsibility were not true.

Conclusion

Captain Louw said every possible clue was being investigated and would be followed to the conclusion.

Barricades placed in De Villiers Street, in front of Khotso House, were being removed yesterday as a team of council cleaners swept away broken glass.

The South African Council of Churches (SACC), which occupied Khotso House, said it would also conduct its own investigation. The SACC intends to engage experts to conduct an independent investigation along with the police. 305 7/9/88



Some of the demonstrators outside Khotso House yesterday. ● Picture by Stephen Davimes.

Youths march to Khotso House

By Helen Grange

A march by about 100 black youths through Johannesburg to Khotso House, which was damaged in an explosion this week, took place yesterday after a lunch-hour service held by the South African Council of Churches (SACC) at the Central Methodist Church.

On reaching Khotso House, the youths, who were singing, faced several policemen guarding the wrecked and cordoned off building.

The crowd turned into Kerk Street to gather at Cosatu House, bombed in May last year, where they were met by two minibuses.

MARCHED BACK

The youths dispersed but quickly congregated again when the buses moved off.

They marched back along Jeppe Street to the Methodist Church.

There, the Reverend Peter Storey, superintendent of the Central Methodist Church and former president of the SACC, told police: "The congregation got a little excited, and it would help the situation if you left."

The gathering broke up shortly afterwards.

The president of the World Ailiance of Reformed Churches, the Reverend Alan Boesak, also visited the scene of the demonstration but left soon afterwards.

SACC and Black Sash seeking new quarters

Religion Reporter

The South African Council of Churches (SACC) will decide today where to move to after its headquarters, Khotso House, was badly damaged in an explosion early on Wednesday.

The blast, in the parking basement of the De Villiers Street premises, has made the building unsafe to enter and this is hampering a probe into the cause of the explosion.

The SACC administrative secretary, the Reverend Francois Bill, said today that an engineer had visited the site yesterday.

"The SACC is working from the Central Methodist Church at present and we will make a decision today as to what to do next.

"We have had offers of office accommodation from various organisations and churches. We are considering renting or leasing a place on a short-term basis if it is acceptable to the owners."

Mrs Ethel Walt of the Black Sash — which also had offices in Khotso House — said the Sash will also decide today where to move to.

"We are planning to move to new premises as soon as possible — we hope early next week — and have two places in mind."

She said the Post Office had been very helpful and immediately after the blast transferred the Black Sash telephone to their lawyers' offices.

SOWETAN, Friday, September 2, 1988

Headquarters destroyed by explosion

SACC OFFERED A NEW HOME

305
2/9/88. Sowetan

THE Central Methodist Church in Johannesburg has offered to house the staff of the South African Council of Churches whose headquarters, Khotso House, was destroyed by a massive explosion on Wednesday morning.

Other member churches of the SACC have also offered to accommodate the several organisations which operated from Khotso House.

These include the Black Sash, the Transvaal Rural Action Committee and Free the Children Alliance.

The minister in charge of the Central Methodist Church and life president of the SACC, the Reverend Peter Storey, said his church would accommodate SACC's staff until they found alternative accommodation or their building was repaired.

The general secretary of the SACC, the Reverend Frank Chikane, said the organisation had hired independent engineers and forensic scientists to investigate the cause of the explosion and damage caused to the building.

Housing shortage could become bargaining chip

By Norman Chandler

The shortage of housing for blacks could become a political bargaining issue, says a South African Institute of Race Relations briefing paper.

It adds that the lack of, and the cost of, shelter could "also create pressure for negotiation".

The paper, by Mr Paul Hendler, says "the provision of shelter is costly and few African residents can afford to cover construction costs or, at least in the view of potential lenders, afford paying off loans over an extended period".

His "Urban Policy and Housing" paper adds that, although the Government has lifted restrictions on home ownership, it is not providing housing as it did in the 1950s and 1960s and "few can afford the monthly instalments on private ownership schemes".

Rent defaulting is continuing and "conflicts over the right to settle on land are likely to be even more enduring".

DEEP-ROOTED DEADLOCK

"The abolition of the pass laws means that the need for land will increasingly be manifested in the cities, but there are significant political constraints on the authorities' ability to provide it.

"Although the weakness of 'squatter' organisation is a potential obstacle to bargaining, a deep-rooted deadlock has developed which may only be resolved by negotiation," Mr Hendler says.

"Negotiations with squatter leaders to determine the conditions under which they may remain on the land may therefore be the only means by which the authorities can ensure that urbanisation in the post-pass-law era remains orderly."

The paper says the growth of settlements is an "intractable problem" for the Government, and "the stresses which it places on Government urbanisation policy could allow squatter communities to make significant gains through negotiation if they are able to forge internal unity".

Bargaining could begin with "land availability agreements" between black local authorities and private developers.

Employers could negotiate housing agreements with trade unions, whose entry into the housing issue "raises possibilities for a new style of community organisation".

"Their stress on negotiating from a strength derived from grassroots structures in which negotiators are mandated by their constituents and their use of negotiation to strengthen organisation could offer community groups a model which would allow them to win power over township decisions," Mr Hendler says.

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Institute opposed to voting campaign

By Mike Siluma,
Labour Reporter

Government attempts to harness business into helping get black workers to the municipal polls has come under criticism from the Institute for Industrial Relations.

The institute's director, Mr Mike Miles, cautioned employers not to become involved in the campaign.

"The institute believes that in the interests of sound labour-management relations, employers ought not to become involved in the municipal election campaign," he said.

The Transvaal Provincial Administration has, in a letter to employers, urged them to "assist and encourage their black staff to register as voters and later to exercise their democratic right to vote".

South Africa's two main black worker federations — the National Council of Trade Unions (Nactu) and the Congress of SA Trade Unions (Cosatu) — have not urged members to participate in the poll.

Nactu secretary-general Mr Phiroshaw Camay challenged the SA Employers' Consultative Committee on Labour Affairs (Saccola) to state its position.

Saccola spokesman Mrs Frieda Dowie said she could not see how Saccola could involve itself in party politics.

Conflict in SA townships must end, says report

Staff Reporter

There is a pressing need for mediation structures to resolve the conflicts that have developed in many South African townships, says a report released by the South African Institute of Race Relations.

The publication, entitled "Urban Policy and Housing", and written for the Institute by Paul Hendler, says a stalemate between Government and anti-apartheid civic associations has developed which, some commentators believed, could be ended only by negotiation.

Obstacles

The obstacles to negotiation identified in the publication are:

- The Government's security strategy.
- The reluctance of community groups to negotiate with, and the unwillingness of officials to bypass, the black urban councillors.
- The absence of effective intermediaries who could bring parties with an interest in negotiation to the bargaining table.
- The view of some activists that housing negotiation would obscure political objectives.
- The view that negotiation with the authorities would conflict with the boycott strategies of some anti-aprtheid organisations.

In the past few years, severe conflict, prompted originally by housing issues, had prevented local authorities in several

Staff Reporter

townships from carrying out day-to-day administrative tasks, which left communities with the problems of doing so themselves.

This led to some communities presenting the authorities with alternative plans for township development and house construction.

The clearest example of this was a detailed plan which developed in Langa in the eastern Cape, which led in 1986 to the establishment of a special Department of Constitutional Development and Planning task force to investigate the feasibility of upgrading the township.

This department was also reported to have set aside R200 million for upgrading Uitenhage and Port Elizabeth townships in negotiation with the eastern Cape branch of the United Democratic Front.

But, as elsewhere, promising negotiations like these were halted by the detention of community leaders, the study said.

Mr Hendler, who is one of South Africa's leading housing experts, believes that sustained bargaining might not develop unless mediators emerge who can bring the adversaries to the negotiating table.

He suggests that a starting point could be land availability agreements between black local authorities and private developers. Developers or utility companies, provident funds or employers could negotiate the terms of development with community groups and then attempt to secure their acceptance by the local authority, in effect mediating between them.

Mr Hendler says the last two views are giving way to a recognition that local negotiation over short-term demands may provide communities with the organisation they need to pursue wider objectives.

He speculates, however, whether community groups' greater willingness to negotiate will be met by a similar response from the authorities.

He suggests that this will depend on the outcome of divisions within the State between those who favour negotiation as a means to stability and those who advocate a combination of force and socio-economic upgrading.

Undermined

Examining the stalemate in the townships, Hendler points out that although the security forces appear to have re-imposed township order, rent boycotts and other political resistance continue.

The State had been unable to establish the long-term viability or credibility of township local government. Its urbanisation policy was also undermined daily as people erected makeshift shelters in places of their choice, and attempts to remove them had been accompanied by attempts to negotiate instead.

The rent boycott organisers, on the other hand, had failed to achieve their objectives, which were an end to the state of emergency and the removal of troops from the townships.

Unions 'using their power in townships'

Star 19/10/87 (305)

Trade unions have paved the way to a new style of community organisation, according to research findings released yesterday by the South African Institute of Race Relations (SAIRR).

The ability of unions to remain organised under state of emergency conditions provided a lesson to other anti-apartheid organisations that had been weakened by stringent security action, the report said.

The publication, entitled "Urban Policy and Housing", compiled by Mr Paul Hendler, identified a pressing need for stronger grassroots organisation in the townships.

The research showed that the unions were starting to use bargaining power to resolve township housing disputes and in so doing provided a model for community organisations seeking to strengthen their power base.

These unions had demonstrated how the process of sustained negotiation could be used to achieve short-term gains.

Govt 'may be more flexible on race policy'

B|Dan 9/1/89

THERE were signs government might adopt a more flexible attitude to the racial group concept, the SA Institute of Race Relations said in its latest Quarterly Countdown.

The magazine is a regular monitor of legislative and constitutional developments.

Countdown said the final quarter of 1988 was marked by continuing pressure on government to abandon some policies which it had hitherto regarded as non-negotiable. It suggested government might go some way towards doing that.

Change

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A key example was a suggestion made at a seminar in Zurich, Switzerland, by Information Minister Stoffel van der Merwe that government was thinking in terms of a new political system in which the definition of a group would be more flexible than in the past — a suggestion that has been taken up by other NP representatives.

Countdown added that "although similar statements have been made in the recent past, support within the NP for what would amount to a major policy change appears to be growing".

Hernus Kriel, the NP MP for Parow, told Parliament government should consider the idea of an "open" population group, and a motion debated at the NP's Cape congress in October called for the creation of an "open" population group for those South Africans who did not want to be classified as members of a race group.

Countdown pointed out that the idea of an "open" group to accommodate people who rejected race classification had already been proposed by the KwaZulu/Natal Indaba.

It said: "Increased support for it within the NP represents an important departure from its insistence that groups be defined by race only and by statute."

— Sapa.

Township political activity 'weakened'

DIANNA GAMES

WHILE political activity in the Reef's 32 townships had been severely weakened, township local authorities continued to lack credibility and residents' material grievances persisted, SA Institute of Race Relations researcher Harry Mashabela said.

Mashabela said, in his new book, Townships of the PWV, that while upgrading was being carried out in most townships, there was no evidence of it being done in consultation with groups outside the local government system.

Rent arrears in each of the townships were substantial and the number of houses bought rather than rented in most cases was low.

In six of the townships, more people owned houses than rented them. The six were Khatlehong, where 5 706 homes were rented compared with the 14 932 bought, Mamelodi (bought 11 112, rented 5 327), Ratanda (bought 1 028, rented 736), Tembisa (bought 10 956, rented 8 980), Zamdela (bought 1 001, rented 721) and Soshanguve (bought 6 238, rented 5 186).

Mashabela said the strong security force presence affected organisations which mobilised opposition to the official system; in all townships these had been weakened or ceased to operate. Street committees appeared to have survived only in Soweto.

The longer rent boycotts persisted the more difficult they would be to break as defaulters were faced with accumulated arrears they could not afford to pay. Another constraint for councils was the poverty of the areas they had to administer.

Pressure from all sides on multiracial areas

Business Day Reporter

THERE were ambiguities in the planning of multiracial residential areas because government was having to react to pressures from all sides as well as disagreement within its own ranks, the SA Institute of Race Relations said.

In its latest Quarterly Countdown, the institute quoted National Education Minister F W de Klerk as saying the Free Settlement Areas Bill, which was reintroduced in the September parliamentary session, was a "dramatic new step to meet realities and practicalities", in that it recognised there were "many people in favour of separate residential areas and many against".

The 14 areas Constitutional Development and Planning Minister Chris Heunis suggested could "conceivably" be considered for proclamation as open areas included parts of Hillbrow, Doornfontein, Joubert Park and Mayfair in Johannesburg; the Ironsyde-Waterdal area adjacent to Sebokeng in the Vaal Triangle; Diepsloot, a proposed development area north-west of Johannesburg; Maryvale, Marianhill and Harrison Flats in the Durban area; District Six and lower Woodstock in Cape Town; and Fairview in Port Elizabeth.

SOWETAN, Monday, January 9, 1989

GOVT MAY CHANGE ON RACE

Sowetan 9/1/89

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THERE are signs that the Government might adopt a more flexible attitude to the racial group concept, according to the South African Institute of Race Relations' latest quarterly *Countdown*.

The magazine is a regular monitor of legislative and constitutional developments.

The publication said the final quarter of 1988 was marked by continuing pressure on the Government to abandon some policies which it had hitherto regarded as non-negotiable. It suggested that the Government might go some way towards doing this.

A key examply was a suggestion made at a seminar in Zurich, Switzerland, by the Minister of Information, Dr Stoffel van der Merwe, that the Government was thinking in

SAPA

terms of a new political system in which the definition of a group would be more flexible than in the past — a suggestion that has been taken up by other National Party representatives.

Support

The magazine added that "although similar statements have been made in the recent past, support within the NP for what would amount to a major policy change appears to be growing."

Mr Hernus Kriel, the NP MP for Parow, told Parliament that the Government should consider the idea of an "open" population group, and a motion debated at the NP's Cape congress in October called for the creation of an "open" population group for those South Africans who do not want to be classified as members of a race group.

The magazine pointed out that the idea of an "open" group to accommodate people who reject race classification had already been proposed by the KwaZulu/Natal Indaba.

"Increased support for it within the NP represents an important departure from its insistence that groups be defined by race only and by statute."

Trialist dies

AN awaiting trial prisoner, Mr Daniel Qobolo (33) of Sebokeng, who appeared in the Magistrate's Court on Tuesday on a charge of housebreaking and theft, died on Thursday while police were conducting in loco investigations, the SAP's public relations division in Pretoria said last week.

Star 9/1/89

Signs of change in Nat bedrock

Staff Reporter

There are signs that the Government might adopt a more flexible attitude to the racial group concept, according to the South African Institute of Race Relations "Quarterly Countdown".

It says the last quarter of 1988 was marked by continuing pressure on the Government to abandon policies which it had previously regarded as non-negotiable.

"Quarterly Coundown" says that a key example of Government thinking was a suggestion made at a seminar in Zurich by the Minister of Information, Dr Stoffel van der Merwe.

He said the Government was thinking in terms of a political system in which the definition of a group would be more flexible than in the past .

The publication adds that "although similar statements have been made in the recent past, support within the NP for what would amount of a major policy change appears to be growing".

Noting that the NP MP for Parow, Mr Hernus Kriel, told Parliament during the last session that the Government should consider the idea of an "open" population group, the publication says there was also a motion on the idea debated at the Cape congress of the NP last year.

"Increased support for it within the NP represents an important departure from its insistence that groups be defined by race only and by statute."

Nat MPs interviewed by the institute linked the cnange to the Government's decision to allow for "open" residential areas. Legislation to accommodate this group politically would be the "next logical step."

But the majority in the NP "is still firmly wedded to the 'group' idea", the publication says.

It believes that any change is likely to come only if it does not undermine the political rights of racially-defined groups.

Race is the question

THERE are ambiguities in the planning of multi-racial residential areas because the Government has to react to pressures from all sides as well as disagreement within its own ranks, the South African Institute of Race Relations said.

In its latest quarterly *Countdown* the SAIRR quotes the Minister of National Education, Mr F W de Klerk, as saying that the Free Settlement Areas Bill, which was reintroduced in the September parliamentary session, was a "dramatic new step to meet realities and practicalities," in that it recognised that there were "many people in favour of separate residential areas and many against."

Countdown, the institute's regular monitor of legislative and constitutional developments, reports problems which the Government faces in drawing up a list of open areas, as well as uncertainty in its approach to schools and local government in the free settlement areas.

The 14 areas which the Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, Mr Chris Heunis, suggested could "conceivably" be considered for proclamation as open areas include parts of Hillbrow, Doornfontein, Joubert Park and Mayfair in Johannesburg, the Ironsyde-Waterdal area adjacent to Sebokeng in the Vaal Triangle, Diepsloot, a proposed new development area north-west of Johannesburg, Marylvale, Marianhill and Harrison Flats in the Durban area, District Six and Lower Woodstock in Cape Town and Fairview in Port Elizabeth.

The suburbs which have been named appear to be those which the Government believes are already desegregated. But, the SAIRR said, there are several other suburbs in major cities which have substantial "illegal" black populations amounting to tens of thousands.

Sowetan 21/11/88

BOOM!

Enrolment explosion provokes special efforts

THE National Manpower Commission reported an enrolment explosion at all black educational institutions and said that the demand for infrastructure was so extensive that special efforts would be necessary to achieve any success at all. But, the survey says, it is still not clear whether the Government will go ahead with plans to levy tuition fees at white government schools in order to free spending resources for black education.

SPECIAL statement issued by the South African Institute of Race Relations.

FOCUS

The 1987/88 Survey of Race Relations is available from the publications department of the South African Institute of Race Relations, (SAIRR) PO Box 31044, 2017 Braamfontein, at R42 plus postage and packing of R2,96.

The survey reports little progress as a result of calls for a single education department, and notes that the Minister for Education and Development Aid, Dr Gerrit Viljoen, said this would not be possible because of the high number of African pupils at schools in South Africa, including all the homelands.

While the Government said that under-utilised white facilities would continue to be offered to other white departments before being offered to black departments, the survey notes that in some cases facilities were transferred to the Department of Education and Training, which controls African schools.



DR GERRIT Viljoen

Parents blamed pupils' lack of discipline, but also cited detentions and the presence of security forces, the survey reports. Criticisms of school boycotts by the National Council of Trade Unions and the Black Consciousness Movement of Azania are recorded in the survey.

The survey notes a statement by the Minister of National Education, Mr F W de Klerk, that the Government's ten-year plan for greater parity in education has been stalled by the country's weak economic growth performance. The plan — originally announced in 1986 — had been based on an expected economic growth rate of 4,1 percent. However, Mr de Klerk said this did not mean that the plan would not materialise.



Pope

Overall, fewer school boycotts were recorded in 1987 and 1988. However, the survey notes that there was no effective education in at least 54 Soweto high schools during the year under review. Some of the reasons for this, according to the Department of Education and Training (DET), were:

- Lack of motivation and discipline among pupils;
- Dilapidated conditions in schools; and
- Demotivation among teachers as a result of assaults.

The survey notes that Pope John Paul II said during a visit to Zimbabwe in September that he opposed election boycotts, and that he also rejected violence and spoke in favour of negotiation.

It also points out that the then president-elect of the Methodist Church of Southern Africa, Rev Stanley Mogoba, has said that he could not subscribe "to a school of thought that recognised that while violence was a fact at present, its continuation was inevitable." He rejected the notion of a just or holy war and, in March, also called for negotiation.

CP

Among major political trends during 1987/88 was a renewal of Church/State tension following the imposition of restrictions on various organisations on February 24, 1988.

The survey records a statement by Dr Allan Boesak that it was the Church's duty to step into the gap left by the bannings. It points to some uneasiness about this within the churches and notes that in an address to a meeting convened by the South African Council of Churches the organisation's president, Dr Manas Buthelezi, warned against the total politicisation of the Church.

Twenty-six church leaders called on all Christians in the country to boycott the municipal elections on October 26, saying that they intended to disseminate this appeal through church newsletters and news agencies and by word of mouth.

The survey notes that the then Minister of the Budget and Welfare in the House of Assembly, Dr Dawid de Villiers, said that the CP's proposals for geographical partition, which the National Party had tested over the years and had shown to be unworkable, were a recipe for a revolution and a bloodbath.

It notes also that the Labour Party leader, Rev Allan Hendrickse, suggested it was time for the Government to put the coloured people back on the common voters' roll to create a united front against a right-wing threat that could cause the country to go under.

Other contradictory statements by CP leaders emerged during the period under review. While Dr Treurnicht said it was CP policy that 70 percent of blacks would be back in their homelands in ten to fifteen years, on another occasion he conceded that blacks were permanently urbanised and that the CP might have to negotiate with them about the final borders of a white state.

An admission by a CP member of Parliament that black people could not be removed from the Johannesburg grey area of Hillbrow was repudiated by Dr Treurnicht, who said his party would continue to fight to make Hillbrow white.

Contradictions in Conservative Party policy might cause serious tensions within its ranks, according to research conducted by the SAIRR.

The 1987/88 survey also records major disagreement between CP members who want simply to reimpose classical apartheid and those who favour smaller white homelands. This division was reportedly papered over at the CP's Transvaal Congress in August this year.

In addition, the idea of a much smaller white homeland is being advocated by Professor Carel Boshoff, who has launched a new group called the Stigting Afrikanervryheid.

The survey points to statements by him that whites are too thinly spread to control the whole of South Africa and that desegregation was in any case now gone too far for it to be possible to re-impose classical separate development.

Political comment in this issue by Aggrey Klaaste and Sam Mabe. Sub-editing, headlines and posters by Sydney Matlhaku. All of 61 Commando Road, Industria West, Johannesburg.

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SA is warned of need to step up technical training

There will not be enough skilled workers to underpin economic growth unless there are dramatic improvements in black education, and particularly in technical education, says a new South African Institute of Race Relations publication.

In "Training on Separate Tracks", author Ms Monica Bot reports that on present trends, even with only a 2 percent average annual growth rate, by the year 2000 there will be a shortage of 200 000 skilled workers. By that time 77 percent of the economically active population will be black.

Though the country will then be dependent on skilled black workers and managers who should now be in training, Ms Bot points out that the recession has led industry as a whole to cut spending on training for the future, and there are not nearly enough bursaries for black students to attend technical colleges as private students.

Another problem, she says, is the emphasis on academic education and a general lack of interest in vocational education.

"Training on Separate Tracks" says skilled workers are needed to generate employment for less skilled workers, and to open informal sector opportunities.

The author singles out high-level manpower shortages in paramedical occupations, agriculture, nursing, science, and technical and technological posts which exist at present.

SHORTAGES EXPECTED

A sustained upturn in the economy would uncover shortages in several industries, for example the construction industry, Ms Bot warns.

She says that employers interviewed expected shortages in their industry even if the economy improved only marginally, and these shortages could be worsened by the emigration of professional people.

Other employers predicted that large development projects such as the Lesotho Highlands Water Scheme, the Mossel Bay gas project and the opening of new mines would add to the skills shortage in the formal economy.

"While skills training is becoming a growing priority, only 10 percent of South Africa's manpower is being trained in a technical field, while 75 percent should be trained to meet requirements."

She quotes the Minister of Education and Training in the House of Assembly, Mr Piet Clase, as saying 75 percent of whites have a purely general educational background, of whom the marketplace can absorb only 40 percent. Among blacks the respective proportions are 95 percent and 20 percent.

Ms Bot says the number of black students at university far exceeds the number in technical institutions, and adds that some employers report black resistance to skills training even in high-unemployment areas.

Nevertheless, the research shows a steady increase in the number of technical students, which suggests a growing black demand for skills training. This is confirmed by her interviewees, who report increasing black applications for training and for apprenticeships.

— Sapa.

Book will fuel sanctions debate

THE debate about disinvestment and sanctions and the country's future is contained and developed further in a book, *Sanctions and the Alternatives,* published and recently released by the South African Institute of Race Relations.

The book is by Stanley Mogoba, president of the institute and presiding bishop of the Methodist Church of Southern Africa, John Kane-Berman, executive director of the institute, and Ronnie Bethlehem, group economics consultant of the Johannesburg Consolidated Investment Company Limited.

The acting executive director of the institute, Mr Theo Coggin, writing in the preface to the book, says the debate on human rights in South Africa has been a fundamental issue in respect of the dismantling of apartheid and will undoubtedly continue to be so in the foreseeable future.

By THEMBA MOLEFE

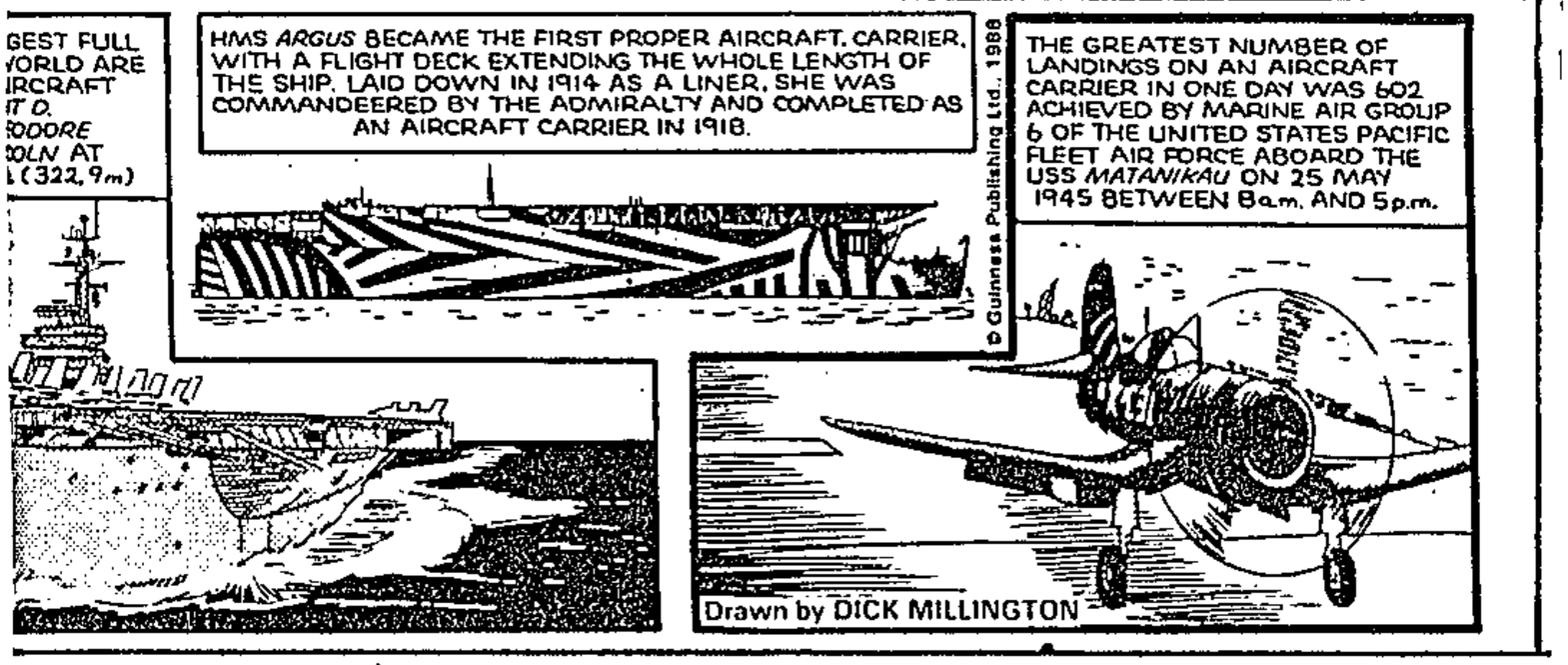
"In recent years, however, the entire debate about South Africa's future has been strongly influenced by the issue of disinvestment and sanctions and the effect this will have on the economy, and the need for negotiation to take place as a matter of urgency to resolve the political impasse that has been reached in this country," says Mr Coggin.

• *Sanctions and the Alternatives* is available from the Publications Department of the South African Institute of Race Relations, PO Box 31044, Braamfontein 2017, and is priced at R11,50 inclusive (R10 plus R1,50 postage and packaging).

S 23103

Sowetan 19/11/89

by Norris McWhirter



Dispassionate chronology of current developments

Surveying race relations

By Sue Olswang

Most people baulk at the thought of battling with bureaucracy or sifting through statistics, but it is these two painstaking tasks which take up most of the day at the SA Institute of Race Relations' Survey Research Department.

The department's staff of seven, with help from a number of outside contributors, is responsible for the annual Race Relations Survey which is renowned for its in-depth research and objectivity.

A large part of the researchers' work involves reading and checking virtually everything they can lay their hands on.

"We read newspapers, journals, magazines, annual reports from companies and government departments and conference papers.

"We also read debates, summarise legislation and submit our own questions to Parliament," says Ms Carole Cooper, editor and director of research.

Researchers must have the ability to gather information and statistics from a wide range of sources, assess what they've gathered and then put it down in a concise and understandable form.

Most of the researchers in the department hold post-graduate degrees in the social sciences.



Part of the team responsible for the annual "Race Relations Survey", a 1 000 page chronology of current developments published by the SA Institute of Race Relations. Back row (from left) Ms Lou-Marie Kruger, Ms Colleen McCaul and Ms Mary Beale. Front row (from left) Ms Jennifer Shindler, Mr Robin Hamilton and Ms Carole Cooper (editor). ● Picture by Ken Oosterbroek.

"We need people with the ability to track down information and put it together, so we tend to look for someone with an honours degree," Ms Cooper says.

The Race Relations Survey is used by a wide range of academics, unions, community organisations, politicians and political parties, foreign embassies, libraries and overseas groups.

The publication provides an ordered and dispassionate chronology of current developments. The latest survey — almost 1 000 pages long and covering 1987 and much of 1988 — offers an overview and then a detailed chapter-by-chapter summary of recent episodes in South Africa's political economy.

The latest survey aims to provide the full picture of the implications of Government policies and their consequences in 1987 and 1988. It also lists legislation enacted by Parliament in 1987/1988 and by the National Assemblies of Bophuthatswana, Ciskei, kaNgwane, Gazankulu, kwaNdbele, Lebowa, QwaQwa, Transkei and Venda.

"It's a huge job to put the survey together but it really is worth it," says Ms Jennifer Shindler, research manager.

"We often battle to get information, especially from Government departments, so there is a fair amount of frustration involved in this type of work. There's a lot of pressure when we get close to deadline.

"The most difficult and time-consuming part of my job is checking facts and figures. The most depressing part of my job is dealing with things like lists of people who have been beaten or detained — it's hard to remain detached when you deal with such depressing statistics."

Ms Colleen McCaul, deputy research manager, says much of her job involves corresponding with officials because statistics are often hard to come by.

"Homeland administrations, for example, don't always have the infrastructure to collect data on things like unemployment, so it's sometimes impossible for us to get anything out of them," she says.

Ms Cooper says the Race Relations Survey "has a commitment to a changing South Africa".

"It is valuable to document apartheid and get information across to a broad range of people," she said.

Govt bid to raise revenue in trouble

GOVERNMENT attempts to charge more for health and housing services by means of new sliding scale formulae might backfire — they are raising little extra revenue, while risking more conflict with black communities, says the South African Institute of Race Relations.

The institute, which monitors the provision of services to black people through its publication *Social and Economic Update*, says that the policy of increasing payments by users of services is being implemented more widely to try to ease the burden of direct subsidies for health and housing services in particular, and in order to make those who can afford higher payments subsidise the very poor.

"In theory", says *Update*, "the principle that the better-off should pay more could offer a way of increasing black access to services and facilities. But the new formulae may not achieve this because the definition of "better-off" people appears to be unrealistic."

The new housing formula and health tariffs, implemented so far in Natal and the Western Cape, assume that people earning over R800 a month are able to contribute more to housing costs, and that people earning over R900 a month can afford medical aid rates.

But it is likely that these people will find the increased costs too heavy a burden, *Update* says. "This may increase the danger of conflict, while little extra revenue is raised."

Formula

Update points out that since the introduction of the new formula in April last year, revenue recovered from patients in Natal's provincial hospitals increased by a third, which the state continued to pay more than 90 percent of the bill for the province's hospital services. At the same time the increase in most low-income patients' health costs prompted organised opposition.

In the Cape, where tariffs have risen by 13,5 percent, only 6 percent of hospital services costs are being recovered. *Update* explains that patients admitted to provincial hospitals are billed after leaving hospital and those who cannot pay more make representation to the province for a reduction or the waiving of the fee.

In any case, says *Update*, fees charged in black hospitals are much less than the costs of the service — the average patient per day cost in King Edward VIII Hospital in Durban, for example, is R134, while fees are around R5.

Update points out that since black patients overall are able to finance only a fifth of health costs in Natal, and little more than one-twentieth in the Cape, the marginal increase in revenue from the new formula will make little impact on hospital budgets.

The publication suggests that these figures cast doubt on the viability of the government's privatisation programme. "The level of cost recovery in black provincial hospitals confirms that none can be run on a profitable basis," it says.

The publication goes on to say, "the government faces a choice betweeen increasing its funding of health care for low-income patients (the vast majority of whom are black), and allowing black access to even basic health care to decline even further.

"Recent events suggest that organised black pressure for improved health services is beginning to emerge and this may play a role in persuading the government to reassess its current strategy.

"Public reaction to the quality of services at Baragwanath Hospital and to the delay in opening the Lenasia Hospital has already prompted the government to allocate funds it had not planned to make available, and this trend may grow."

The new formula for payment of township housing services has also run into trouble, *Update* reports. In most cases it has led to a decrease in rents, but it has coincided with an increase in service charges, which has provoked widespread opposition.

Tenants

The formula, which links bond and rent payments to household income, was implemented during the period under review in coloured townships in the Western Cape and townships of all race groups in Natal. Tenants are permitted to choose between the new formula and the old method of determining rents.

Update says that while the new formula may be more favourable to tenants initially, it might not be so for long. It is calculated in a way which allows for relatively steep increases in payments once incomes rise above a certain level, and tenants whose income increases relatively modestly may face far higher charges. As a result Cape Town officials are advising tenants not to change to the new formula if they expect their incomes to rise significantly.

While for some the new formula will mean that rented housing is less affordable than before, *Update* says that the initial evidence suggests that overall it was decreased rent. It notes that increases in maintenance and service costs were apparently coincidental and might temporarily have obscured the long-term benefits of the scheme.

Nevertheless the new sliding-scale formula for determining payment of health and housing services is already under review by a state committee. "This suggests that it may be altered before it is used nationally," says *Update*.

Social and Economic Update is available from the publications department of the South African Institute of Race Relations, PO Box 31044, 2017 Braamfontein, at R10,00 inclusive, (R8,50, plus R1,50 postage and packaging).

R2 000 paid out for unlawful detention

THE Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, has made an offer to pay R2 000 damages in an out of court settlement to a motor car mechanic who was unlawfully arrested and detained in Hammanskraal last year.

Mr Johannes Mothiba, of 96 17th Avenue, Alexandra township, was wrongfully and unlawfully arrested by members of the South African Police who

He was detained at the Hammanskraal police station and later transferred to the Pretoria Central Prison where he was released on May 23.

He was unlawfully arrested on May 5 on charges of housebreaking and theft which were withdrawn. He was arrested again shortly after his release and charged with culpable

Mr Mothiba's lawyers that the Minister was offering R2000 without prejudice and to avoid incurring unnecessary costs". Mr Mothiba had initially claimed R10 000 damages from the Minister.

A spokesman for D Z Tantsi Attorneys in Pretoria, yesterday said they had accepted the Minister's offer but added that the amount excluded legal costs

Number of black matriculants exceeds whites

Black matric pass rate up by 66 pc

SOWETAN 27/1/89

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THE total number of black matriculants — including those in all homelands — outnumbered whites for the first time last year.

Some 85 000 black candidates passed as against 62 000 whites.

This represents an increase of 66 percent among blacks and only 4 percent among whites.

These figures emerge from the South African Institute of Race Relation's four-monthly monitor, the Social and Economic Update.

The publication notes that the black and coloured education departments have been able to increase the numbner of pupils who remain in school until matriculation, but at the expense of a lower matric success rate.

In 1979, 25 percent of black matriculants obtained matric exemption, whereas last year only 16,5 percent did so. Similarly 32 percent of coloured students obtained matric exemption in 1979, while 18 percent did in the last examinations.

Problem

At the same time the number of black candidates rose by 554 percent while the number of coloured candidates rose by 137 percent.

A very serious problem, identified by the institute's research, is the low standard of mathematics teaching in black schools — only 0,3 percent of last year's black matriculation exemption holders — including those in all homelands — obtained a pass in mathematics.

This means far too few blacks will be able to receive the higher technical education they need in order to meet the country's skills shortage, the institute says.

In the period under review, two developments may have a significent impact on the quality of education for black pupils, according to update;

- A committee of the Natal Education Department (NED) recommended that teacher training colleges should be opened to all races. Their report also recommended that teacher trainers should prepare themselves and their students to work in "multi-cultural" schools, and that curricula and teaching materials should be adapted to accommodate "inter-group collaboration".

"Although the report has not been adopted by either the NED or the government, it does indicate influentia support in one of the fou white provincial educa tion departments fo fundamental polic changes away from segregation," says Update.

- The establishment of the independent examination board. Update says this might lead to the introduction of a privately-run matriculation examination. — Sapa.

Soviets 'fluid' on SA policy

SOVIET policies towards SA may be more fluid than generally believed, an SA Institute of Race Relations report released today shows.

The report, entitled, A New Mood in Moscow: Soviet Attitudes to SA, was written by Steven Friedman and Monty Narsoo, who visited the Soviet Union in November as guests of the Africa Institute of the Soviet Academy of Sciences, and who note a marked divergence of views.

At one end of the debate is the Africa Institute, where some researchers adopt novel approaches, some of which are conservative.

At the other is the Solidarity Committee, which says "no change" of policy has occurred.

In the middle is the African history department, which suggests that Soviet policy should be based on a detailed understanding of SA's internal political dynamics. — Sapa.

SAIRR warning on township stability

GOVERNMENT was unlikely to achieve long-term stability in the townships unless it was willing to alter the local government system significantly, the SAIRR said.

In Fragile Figures? — The 1988 PWV Township Elections, an analysis of last year's municipal elections, author Harry Mashabela said polling figures by no means indicated endorsement of the constitutional system.

He said: "Government will have to begin dealing with all township groups, including those who oppose the system, to frame an alternative which enjoys wider support."

Mashabela's analysis covered the Pretoria/Witwatersrand/Vereeniging townships, where percentage polls were lower than the national average (17,3% opposed to a national figure of 25%). This is the country's most populous and economically important urban region, and a failure to win credibility for official local government here could have serious implications for long-term stability.

The analysis said: "Polls appear to show that, even in the absence of a boycott campaign, township residents remain at best indifferent to the official local authorities."

In spite of sustained voter-registration campaigning, few areas showed polls approximating the total eligible population. — Sapa.

Violence never justified, says SAIRR president

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Bday 24/2/18

DIANNA GAMES

SOUTH Africans had to create conduits of communication for people of different political and ideological persuasions, SAIRR president Stanley Mogoba said in a new book.

Mogoba said in his book, Race Relations: Survival Kit for the Future, published by the SAIRR, that South Africans had to realise violence could never be justified. Mogoba is also the Methodist Church of Southern Africa's presiding bishop.

He said: "No one enjoys pain and it is probably because of that that so few people inside and outside SA give themselves so wholeheartedly to the issue of conflict resolution.

"Perhaps it is appropriate nevertheless to remind you that it is not just SA that shows the marks of a wasteland, but that there are times when the whole of southern Africa begins to look like a septic sore which produces germs that lead to violence, death and destruction."

But, the international community should not "sit back and smirk at the regional conflicts in this part of the world".

Visions and strategies for a democratic SA discussed

Sowetan 22/2/89 305

Book seeks common ground

A UNIQUE debate involving organisations across the ideological spectrum is contained in a book released today by the South African Institute of Race Relations, entitled *The Prisoners of Tradition and the Politics of Nation Building*.

The book is the outcome of a massive research project conducted over the last two years by two institute researchers, Dr Charles Simkins and Mr Monty Narsoo.

Explaining the project, the institute's executive director, Mr John Kane-Berman, said that at the end of 1985, when it was first discussed, the country was in a state of violent equilibrium — black revolt against the Government stood no chance of overthrowing it; equally the Government was unable finally to quell revolt. The project was conceived by the institute "as a modest contribution towards finding ways of breaking the stalemate."

"Specifically," says Kane-Berman, "we ought to explore what common ground existed among South Africans about what their country should be like and how they might help to shape it. Over time, this would require innovations at the level of ideas and realignments at the level of political organisation."

The project consisted of information collection and critique.

Wide range

During 1987 and 1988 institute researchers Mr Monty Narsoo and Dr Charles Simkins criss-crossed Southern Africa to discuss issues with a wide range of political organisations and interest groups. These included the ANC and PAC in Lusaka and Harare, and the State Security Council in Pretoria.

In depth interviews were conducted with the following 22 organisations and groups: Azanian People's Organisation; Pan-Africanist Congress (Zimbabwe); Media Workers' Association of South Africa; Steel and Engineering Industries Federation of South Africa; African National Congress (Zambia); Department of Constitutional Development and Planning; Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu); Cape Teachers Professional Association; Signatories to the Stellenbosch academics' manifesto; Cape Action League; Press group — white; Press group — black; South African Hindu Maha Sabha; Inkatha; Cosatu — Natal region; Natal Indian Congress; group of lawyers; group of Port Elizabeth opposition organisations; Port Elizabeth city councillors; Port Elizabeth black community organisations; group of educationists; secretariat of the State Security Council.

The organisations and groups were asked to discuss their vision of a democratic South Africa and the strategies they plan to employ to achieve it. The discussions unearthed views which often contradict the popular image of these groups.

The organisations whose views were canvassed do not normally debate with each other. The debate was conducted at arms' length, through separate seminars of approximately an hour and a half. Each group knew which other groups were being interviewed, and summaries of the interviews were returned to each group for comment and criticism.

The purpose of the seminars was not so much to elicit explicit policy stances but, without seeking to bind the organisations to which participants were affiliated, to explore the thinking that lies behind them.

Simkins' provocative interpretation of all these seminars was then submitted to all the organisations, many of whom agreed to debate the findings with Narsoo.

In a separate section of the report Narsoo discusses these responses and analyses them. Both the replies and Narsoo's analysis open up new ground in the debate on South Africa's political future.

Narsoo himself disagreed with some aspects of Simkins' report, and his comments are set in a separate section of the book. This is followed up with a reply by Simkins, together with his critical analysis of the African National Congress' constitutional principles, and his essay on Liberalism and Nationalism in South Africa.

Fewer funds, rising costs but more students

SAIRR has to cut back bursaries

305 BD on 21/3/89

A CUTBACK in funding by some donor organisations and increasing costs at universities had led to fewer bursaries this year, the SAIRR said this week.

SAIRR deputy director Theo Coggin said the reduction in the number of new awards made to university students was 11%.

A total of 271 new bursaries — including universities, technikons, teacher training colleges and secondary schools — was awarded.

Coggin said: "The reduction would have been larger but for the careful manner in which our bursary department husbands its resources and keeps administration costs as low as possible."

The cutback came in the face of an ever-increasing number of inquiries being received from black people for bursaries from the SAIRR.

Hoping

A total of 40 798 applications were sent to students hoping to get a bursary in 1989 — an increase of 6 855, or more than 20% compared with the previous year.

Coggin said: "This continued increase in the number of inquiries received by the SAIRR is indicative of two things. First, that it continues to be perceived in the minds of thousands of black people as a fair and able administrator of bursaries. It is, therefore, nothing short of a major travesty that funds for bursaries for black people are being reduced at a time when they are more urgently needed than ever.

"Second, it is a prime illustration of the tremendous thirst for tertiary education among blacks who wish to prepare themselves for the SA of tomorrow."

Coggin praised some of the smaller donors who had increased their involvement in the SAIRR's bursary programme this year.

These included the Dutch government (five new awards), First National Bank (two new awards), Swiss Church Group (27 new awards) and a Dominican Sisters' Order based in Johannesburg (five new awards).

Significant numbers of new awards were also made by the US Aid Programme (97) and the Kellogg Foundation (34), which are two of the SAIRR's major donors.

Students

Of the new awards, 197 went to university students, 28 to technikon students, 24 to students at teacher training colleges and 20 to pupils at secondary schools. — Sapa.

Schwarz objects to 'extra revenue hunt'

'Own Affairs' functions to be transferred

Institute

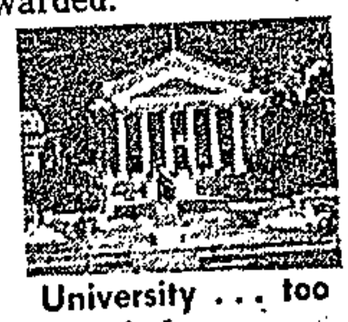
awarding fewer (305) bursaries

A cutback in funding by some donor organisations and increasing costs at universities had led to the South African Institute of Race Relations being forced to award fewer bursaries this year, the organisation disclosed this week.

The reduction in the number of new awards made to university students was 11 percent, said the institute's deputy director, Mr Theo Coggin.

A total of 271 new bursaries — for universities, technikons, teacher training colleges and secondary schools — was awarded.

Star 3/4/89



University ... too costly for many.

"The reduction would have been larger but for the careful manner in which our bursary department husbands its resources and keeps administration costs as low as possible", Mr Coggin said.

The cutback in awards came in the face of an ever-increasing number of inquiries being received from black people for bursaries from the institute.

Application forms sent out to aspirant students wanting bursaries in 1988 totalled 40 798 — 6 855 more than in the previous year.

"We found this year that there are many capable students who simply lack the financial resources to attend a tertiary institution," Mr Coggin said.

Festival to help hard of hearing

An international food, drink and music festival in aid of the McAuley Unit, for children who are hard of hearing, will be held this weekend at the NVJ International Club, Bryanston Extension. More information can be obtained from Mr Tebb at (011) 704-2663.

CONCERN ABOUT SA UNDER-CLASS

THE possible development of a black "under-class" in SA was a matter of great concern, John Kane-Berman said in Johannesburg yesterday.

Testifying at the invitation of the social affairs committee of the President's Council, Kane-Berman, the South African Institute for Race Relations' (SAIRR) executive director, said this under-class would consist of "millions of people who were illiterate, unemployed, and with no real means of gaining access to the economy".

He said the SAIRR welcomed efforts government, the private sector, and organisations such as Eskom were making to reduce backlogs in facilities available to blacks. It deplored the fact that apartheid prevented blacks, whose facilities were overcrowded, from using under-utilised white facilities.

The SAIRR welcomed the view expressed increasingly in black circles that opportunities to deal with some of these problems should be sought now.

The SAIRR did not regard the homeland system as a constitutional solution for SA. It was concerned at allegations of waste and/or corruption in certain homelands. However, 15-million people were living in the homelands, and their claim on SA's resources was no less than that of blacks living outside them, or of whites.

It was unfortunate that opposition parties and newspapers routinely attacked central government's homelands budgetary allocations, and in so doing ignored the fact that most of the homelands' budgets were spent on education, health, and welfare, Kane-Berman said. — Sapa.

...Smithfield war memorial massacre in which 11 people died. — Sapa-Reuter.

40 STUDENTS 'MAY HAVE TO DROP STUDIES'

CAPE TOWN — At least 40 "first rate and deserving students", whom the SAIRR hoped to assist this year, would be forced to abandon their studies unless its western Cape branch could raise R80 000, SAIRR Western Cape bursary committee chairman Derek Joubert said yesterday. (305)

He said cutbacks to educational institutions was a major factor contributing to the SAIRR's predicament. B(Day 14/4/89

"Last year we handed out 333 bursaries, 164 were renewals and 169 new bursaries. This year, we have been able to give only 302, of which 209 were renewals and only 93 were new bursaries.

"This is terribly distressing because there are at least 40 students we really want to help this year. They meet the criteria, which are: need and high academic standards.

"These young people are all first-rate students registered at universities and technikons." — Sapa.

Kane-Berman's dream: peace in SA

The Institute of Race Relations will be 60 years old next month. It moved through a stormy period of near bankruptcy into a "liberal laager," but since John Kane-Berman took over the reins, it is back on course.

The Institute conducts research to expose the nature of racial discrimination and to find methods to eradicate it peacefully – an enormous task, which John Kane-Berman approaches as a personal challenge.

WHEN John Kane-Berman was appointed executive director of the SA Institute for Race Relations, he realised within an hour that a big task was awaiting him.

He had numerous plans in mind for his new career, but they had to wait, because a salvage operation was on the cards.

"I realised that the place was on the verge of bankruptcy," he said. He negotiated emergency loans and developed a new financial strategy.

A thorough investigation of the institute's finances proved that it was too dependent upon foreign financing for its main purpose: research.

"This was financially unsound, because foreign contributors could suspend their contributions at any time.

"We decided that we would be working for political and social change in South Africa and that South Africans would have to pay for it. We therefore looked for financial sources at home and we re-devised our membership campaign. It was a success.

"However, the institute still uses foreign assistance for its bursary programme for black students, with a budget of R5,2-million.

"I wanted to re-establish the institute to its former influential position.

"This meant that we had to break away from the "liberal laager" where there were many people who were opposed to the government.

"Our membership now covers a broader political spectrum of views than that of any other similar organisation in the country. It ranges from government departments to people in exile.

"Similarly, it is satisfying, as researchers, to have access to activists, consciousness leaders and radical organisations."

Does the institute maintain a neutral stance?

"Not neutral. We can never be neutral towards matters like statutory racial discrimination – we have always renounced it and will always do so. I would rather say we are politically independent."

The institute's main task is research – mainly into the impact of discriminatory legislation on the community. Its findings have been published annually since 1936.

The research also aims to find ways to end apartheid.

"We are searching for policies and strategies which have been applied succesfully and we try to determine where they can be utilised successfully elsewhere," said Kane-Berman.

"Naturally, the erosion of the Group Areas Act is one of them. We try to formulate arguments to convince the government and others to get rid of this completely.

"Our main objective is the demolition of statutory apartheid. When this has disappeared, we will have to focus on personal prejudices and attitudes.

"The identification of peaceful ways to get rid of apartheid is an important contribution to race relations. We must search for non-violent strategies which will not destroy the country's ability to meet the expectations."

The institute analysed changes that have taken place in the country during the last 15 years.

One fact crystalised very clearly: changes take place on ground level before they are given recognition in legislation.

"Trade unions, which really became operative in 1973, are a good example. They did not get statutory recognition before October 1, 1979 – after the report of the Wiehahn Commission. Our analysis shows that the growth of black trade unions necessitated the appointment of the Wiehahn Commission.

"The reason why the government legalised free settlement areas is because black people had moved into those areas anyway.

"Despite separate voters' rolls and 'own affairs' one need only look at Johannesburg, where more blacks than whites are living in the central business district.

"The question about the future is: how do you get negotiations going? The preconditions of a wide spectrum of black people are known. The release of Nelson Mandela is one of them. If the government wants to negotiate with Buthelezi and others, it will have to cross that bridge."

What is Kane-Berman's dream for South Africa?

"I would want to see a country with a multi-party democracy – with full employment, a rising standard of living – a country which is respected internationally. I believe in paradise, as all of us do. . . "

Kane-Berman's dream: peace in SA

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FEWER BURSARIES AS THIRST FOR HIGHER EDUCATION SOARS

THE South African Institute of Race Relations is to award fewer bursaries this year because of a cutback in funding by some donor organisations and increasing costs at universities.

Mr Theo Coggin, the institute's deputy director, said the reduction in the number of new awards made to university students was 11 percent.

A total of 271 new bursaries (including universities, technikons, teacher training colleges and secondary schools) were awarded.

"The reduction would have been larger but for the careful manner in which our bursary department husbands its resources and keeps administration costs as low as possible," he said.

The cutback in awards came in the face of an ever-increasing number of inquiries being received from black people for bursaries from the institute.

A total of 40 798 applications were sent by aspirant students hoping to get a bursary in 1989 — an increase of 6 855, or more than 20 percent compared to the previous year.

"This continued increase in the number of inquiries received by the institute is indicative of two things.

"First, that the institute continues to be perceived in the minds of tens of thousands of black people as a fair and able administrator of bursaries. It is therefore nothing short of a major travesty that funds for bursaries for black people are being reduced at a time when they are more urgently needed than ever.

"Second, it is a prime illustration of the tremendous thirst for tertiary education among blacks who wish to prepare themselves for the South Africa of tomorrow".

Mr Coggin said, however, that there was "a little hope" in that some of the donors who had cut back this year had undertaken to review their position.

He praised some of the smaller donors who had increased their involvement in the institute's bursary programme this year.

This included the Dutch government (five new awards), First National Bank (two new awards), Swiss Church Group (27 new awards) and a Dominican Sisters' Order based in Johannesburg (five new awards).

Significant numbers of new awards were also made by the United States Aid Programme (97), and the Kellogg Foundation (34), which are two of the institute's major donors.

"It does not take a genius to work out that without these new awards we would have been able to give even fewer bursaries than we did," he said.

Of the new awards, 197 went to university students, 28 to technikon students, 24 to students at teacher training colleges and 20 to pupils at secondary schools.

The institute was also able to make 626 awards for 1989 to existing bursars who attended universities, technikons, teacher training colleges and schools on institute's grants last year.

Selection is made by a committee comprising representatives of the community.

The truth about last year's polls

Did fewer residents than expected vote in the 1988 municipal elections or, as the Government claims, more blacks voted last year?

A survey by the South African Institute of Race Relations has attempted to answer these questions.



VOTERS at a polling booth in Soweto.

FOCUS

By THEMBA MOLEFE

THE institute has questioned figures given by both the Bureau for Information and agents of the Government on the number of blacks who voted in the 1988 municipal elections.

In a publication entitled *Fragile Figures – the 1988 PWV Township Elections*, the institute's research officer, Mr Harry Mashabela, concludes that fewer than one in five residents in the PWV voted.

The research covers 26 Black Local Authorities in which the elections were held.

Mr Mashabela says both the Government and its opponents considered the October elections in the townships as perhaps the most important in the country's history.

He says: "For the Government the township polls were a test of the security strategy it had followed in these areas, particularly after the declaration of the state of emergency in June 1986.

"It had repeatedly claimed that intimidation by 'radicals' in African areas was responsible for low polls for the black local authorities, which remain the chief channel for African political representation outside the homelands.

"The elections were a test of this claim: if it was accurate, and if security strategy had succeeded in stifling opposition, large numbers of residents should have turned out to vote."

Mashabela also notes that the Government had taken additional steps to ensure a higher poll — it outlawed campaigns against voting, introduced the prior vote system, giving voters 10 days to cast their votes before polling day, and stationed the army and the police in the townships.

"It also ran an expensive publicity campaign to persuade residents to vote and granted the municipal vote to inhabitants of informal settlements which fall within local authority boundaries. In townships such as Soweto, these 'squatters' made up a large proportion of those voted."

Mashabela says three possible explanations could be given if a higher poll was not achieved:

• Security action was not successful. Although it appears to have stifled organised campaigns for a boycott, the period prior to the election was marked by insurgency attacks on local authority property and, allegedly, on at least one building which was, according to rumour, to serve as a polling station.

Voters

"It is conceivable that these incidents may have deterred potential voters from voting. However, there is no concrete evidence that these incidents did have a significant effect on the polls and conclusions as to their effect must therefore remain speculative.

"After the election, police statements indicated that there had been relatively little 'intimidation'.

"This implies that few people were coerced into staying away from the polls.

• "While the police and defence force presence at the polls was designed to allay voters' fears, it is conceivable that, in some cases, it had the opposite effect.

"Instead of convincing residents that it was safe to vote, it might have led some to believe that there was a serious likelihood of unrest at polling stations and that it was, therefore, safer to stay away from the polls. Again, this possibility must remain a matter for speculation in the absence of detailed evidence either for or against.

• The most plausible reason is that the official local government system had failed to win greater active participation even in circumstances which were conducive to participation and that security action had failed to confer legitimacy on the Government's chosen structures in the townships."

The writer notes that the Government insists that the poll was higher than that in the 1983 elections.

"It believes that it confirmed growing support among township residents for its constitutional structure and for the 'reform' process which it initiated.

"Its opponents, on the other hand, insist that, when measured against the total adult population of the townships, the proportion of people who voted was lower than it was last time."

Mr Mashabela also questions the method used by the Government to determine the percentage poll in the townships. He concludes that in the township polls, the large number of uncotested wards reduces the reliability of this method.

Wards

"Little more than half the wards in the PWV — 175 out of 321 — were contested, either because only one candidate was nominated or because none were.

"In most PWV townships, at least a third of the wards were uncontested and in several the proportion of uncontrolled wards was so high that the number of people who had the opportunity to vote were a minority of registered voters.

"It cannot be assumed that, had the majority had the opportunity to vote, the same percentage — or even a similar one — would actually have done so."

Mashabela concludes the survey by saying:

"Far from indicating an endorsement of the present constitutional system, the polls suggest that the Government is unlikely to achieve long-term stability in the townships unless it is willing to alter the present local government system significantly.

It must begin dealing with all township groups, including those who oppose the system, in an attempt to frame an alternative which enjoys wider support.

'Constitution hinders shared value system'

By CONNIE MOLUSI

SOUTH Africa needs a shared value system, but the country's constitution does not promote this, says John Kane-Berman, executive director of the South African Institute of Race Relations.

Kane-Berman said this when testifying before the Social Affairs Committee of the President's Council, which is investigating strategies for promoting positive relations in South Africa with regard to cultural and other common ground in the different value systems.

"The single most important force creating common ground and a common value system is the economy, but racially discriminatory laws hinders it.

"The institute believes that common ground should be promoted on such issues as freedom of speech, association, multiparty democracy and the rule of law. However, the very constitution of the country makes this immensely difficult because it imposes 'own affairs'."

Kane-Berman suggested that strategies to promote positive relations between different races necessitated:

- The repeal of discriminatory laws;
- Negotiation of a new constitution; and
- Reduction of material inequalities;

The continued enforcement of segregation in government schools also hindered the development of a shared value system.

"All the children now entering school will be part of an almost completely integrated economy by the year 2 000. Yet these children are not being adequately equipped for that economy, because they are kept apart," he said.

Kane-Berman said the institute was aware that racism was not unique to South Africa, but statutory discrimination remained the country's major problem. This included Section 52 of the constitution, which confines the parliamentary franchise to people classified as white, coloured or Indian.

Widespread black rejection of the constitution had been repeatedly voiced but ignored. This was one of the reasons why violence had broken out in September 1984, when the new constitution came into operation, he said.

60 years of holding the middle ground

IRR645 9/5/89 305

By JOHN KANE-BERMAN, Executive Director of the Institute of Race Relations

FOUNDED 60 years ago today, the Institute of Race Relations remains the only research organsiation in the country systematically monitoring the entire range of racially discriminatory laws while identifying changes for the better as well as changes for the worse.

RESEARCH

The all-embracing basic research is supplemented by selective policy-orientated research seeking to identify particular points where pressure for non-violent change can most successfully be applied.

As various racially discriminatory laws have been repealed, ideological polarisation has tended to replace racial polarisation. The middle ground is under constant attack, and change is conveyed as an all-or-nothing affair.

At the cost of popularity in some quarters, the institute has stood firmly on the middle ground. Indeed, one of its research projects has been specifically designed to strengthen the middle ground.

The institute continues to chronicle the horrors of apartheid, but it is careful not to perpetuate half-truths and myths about South Africa that erode both local and foreign belief in the possibility of peaceful transformation — for example, the half-truth that all non-violent opposition to apartheid has been eliminated by the emergency regulations.

For many years the institute concentrated on exposing the evils of apartheid in the hope of shocking the community into getting rid of it. Now that a process of change is irreversibly under way in South Africa, our main thrust is to examine ways to enhance this process.

Committed

We have pioneered research into incremental reform strategies. To deny the validity of incremental reform is to imply that the only alternative to apartheid is revolution. Notwithstanding claims to the contrary, incremental reform is not a substitute for real change.

The institute remains as strongly committed as ever to the repeal of all discriminatory laws, including the foundation of them all, the Population Registration Act. Dismantling apartheid step by step means going the whole hog, not stopping half way.

In analysing the process of change in South Africa, the institute has been able to show how the ordinary man or woman in the street can act to better our society without waiting for the government or anti-government political elites to do so.

Spotting

We are identifying opportunities for practical steps that can be taken on the ground to expedite change in a way that is neither violent nor provocatively confrontational. Our approach includes spotting gaps that business, professional organisations, other social and economic interest groups, and reform-minded civil servants can go for.

We take a composite view of South Africa's problems.

Change, in our view, means not only the elimination of statutory racial discrimination but also the reduction of material inequality between black and white.

Eroded

Indeed, we would argue, in fields like education, where apartheid has been substantially eroded and will no doubt be further eroded, removing backlogs in black facilities is just as important as the need to eliminate discrimination on racial grounds.

The need for high rates of economic growth, and the means to finance it, therefore cannot be ignored. Although very many of South Africa's problems can be traced to racially discriminatory laws, and are indeed rightly blamed upon apartheid, the institute knows that the disappearance of apartheid will not automatically produce equality.

The institute jealously guards its independence. It retains links with people across the political and economic spectrums, but is beholden to none of them. Its critical evaluation of politics includes black politics as well as white.

Resisted

While many others have bowed to pressure to identify with particular political goals or groupings, the institute has successfully withstood pressure to do so. It has also successfully resisted pressures to join particular political campaigns.

The institute opposes not only apartheid but also violence. Its opposition to violence embraces violence by the left as well as violence by the right. Its opposition to totalitarian ideologies is equally uncompromising.

STANDING FIRMLY ON THE MIDDLE GROUND



Ms John Kane-Berman . . . "chronicling the horrors of apartheid."

The South African Institute of Race Relations reaches its diamond jubilee today. Non-racial since day one, the institute has pioneered research into apartheid, which it has always opposed. Here John Kane-Berman, the institute's executive director, explains the organisation's research role.

FOUNDED 60 years ago, the institute remains a unique organisation.

In recent years numerous other research organisations have been set up, but the institute is the only one systematically monitoring the entire range of racially discriminatory laws while identifying changes for the better as well as changes for the worse.

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For example, the half-truth that all non-violent opposition to apartheid has been eliminated by the emergency regulations.

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Change

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In analysing the process of change in South Africa, the institute has been able to show how the ordinary man or woman in the street can act to better our society without waiting for the government or anti-government political elites to do so.

Making use of our analysis of the track-record we are identifying opportunities for practical steps that can be taken on the ground to expedite change in a way that is neither violent nor provocatively confrontational.

Our approach includes spotting gaps that business, professional organisations, other social and economic interest groups, and reform-minded civil servants can go for.

We take a composite view of South Africa's problems.

Change, in our view, means not only the elimination of statutory racial discrimination but also the reduction of material inequality between black and white.

Indeed, we would argue, in fields like education, where apartheid has been substantially eroded and will no doubt be further eroded, removing backlogs in black facilities is now just as important as the need to eliminate discrimination on racial grounds.

The need for high rates of economic growth, and the means to finance it, therefore cannot be ignored.

Problems

Although very many of South Africa's problems can be traced to racially discriminatory laws, and are indeed rightly blamed upon apartheid, the institute knows that the disappearance of apartheid will not automatically produce equality.

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Political comment in this issue by Aggrey Klaaste and Sam Mabe. Sub-editing, headlines and posters by Sydney Matlhaku. All of 61 Commando Road, Industria West, Johannesburg.

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60-year-old race relations body reaffirm independence

Star 9/5/86 (305)

Still committed to scrapping all discrimination

The South African Institute of Race Relations reaches its diamond jubilee today. Non-racial since day one, the institute has pioneered research into apartheid, which it has always opposed. Here JOHN KANE-BERMAN, the institute's executive director, explains the organisation's research role.

Founded 60 years ago, the institute remains a unique organisation.

In recent years numerous other research organisations have been set up, but the institute is the only one systematically monitoring the entire range of racially discriminatory laws while identifying changes for the better as well as for the worse.

This all-embracing basic research is supplemented by selective policy-orientated research seeking to identify particular points where pressure for non-violent change can most successfully be applied.

As various racially discriminatory laws have been repealed in recent years, ideological polarisation has tended to replace racial polarisation in South Africa.

The middle ground is under constant attack, and change is conveyed as an all-or-nothing affair. At the cost of popularity in some quarters, the institute has stood firmly on the middle ground.

Indeed, one of its research projects has been specifically designed to strengthen the middle ground.

The institute continues to chronicle the horrors of apartheid, but it is careful not to perpetuate half-truths and myths about South Africa that erode both local and foreign belief in the possibility of peaceful transformation.

For many years the institute concentrated on exposing the evils of apartheid, in the hope thereby of shocking the community into getting rid of it.

Now that a process of change is irreversibly under way in South Africa, our main thrust is to examine possibilities to enhance this process.

Indeed, we have pioneered research into incremental reform strategies.

To deny the validity of incremental reform is to imply that the only alternative to apartheid is revolution.

Notwithstanding claims to the contrary, incremental reform is not a substitute for real change. The institute remains as strongly committed as ever to the repeal of all discriminatory laws, including the foundation, the Population Registration Act.

Dismantling apartheid step by step means going the whole hog, not stopping half way.

In analysing the process of change in South Africa, the institute has been able to show how the ordinary man or woman in the street can act to better our society without waiting for the government or anti-

government political elites to d

Making use of our analysis o cord we are identifying opportunities fo eps that can be taken to expedite chan that is neither violent nor provocatively ional.

Our approach includes spottin business, professional organisations, other econom-ic interest groups, and reform-m servants can go for.

We take a composite view of Sica's prob-lems. Change, in our view, me only the elimination of statutory racial cination but also the reduction of material ity between black and white.

Indeed, we would argue, in fiel e education, where apartheid has been substan eroded and will no doubt be further eroded, re ing backlogs in black facilities is now just as portant as the need to eliminate discrimination on rial grounds.

The need for high rates of econo c growth, and the means to finance it, therefore cannot be ignored.

Although very many of South Africa's problems can be traced to racially discriminatory laws, and are indeed rightly blamed upon apartheid, the institute knows that the disappearance of apartheid will not automatically produce equality.

The institute jealously guards its independence. It retains links with people right across the political and economic spectrums, but is beholden to none.

Its critical evaluation of politics includes black politics as well as white.

While many others have bowed to pressure t identify with particular political goals or groupin the institute has successfully withstood pressure do so.

It has also successfully resisted pressures to particular political campaigns.

The institute opposes not only apartheid but violence. Its opposition to violence embrace lence by the left as well as violence by the righ

Its opposition to totalitarian ideologies is uncompromising.

FOCUS

WHITES ARE TAKING OVER

WHITES are infiltrating township businesses and threatening the livelihood of many black entrepreneurs.

Their main assault is directed at the lucrative minibus market.

Other sections of the informal sector, seen widely as the means towards "black economic empowerment", also faced with the same threat from whites.

Social and Economic Update **written by the SA Institute of Race Relations researcher, Ellaine Cosser, points out that at least 30 percent of minibus taxis are owned by whites.**

But officials of the Southern Africa Black Taxi Association (Sabta) and the South African Long Distance Transport Association (Saldta) the two black organisas in the transport industry, say the 30 percent figure is conservative and put their estimate at 50 percent and which they say is growing by the day.

They both warned that deregulation may increase the trend to white ownership.

The burgeoning black taxi industry has created thousands of jobs. Most taxi drivers do not own the vehicle.

They work for an employer, and some of the employers are white.

Sabta's president, Mr James Nqcoya, said most taxis were white-owned. He expressed fears that deregulation may hamper the prospects of growth in the transport industry.

Front

He said: "Whites are taking over our industry. At the moment they have to hide behind a black front because they have capital and to the assets which are required as security for loans.

"The fraudulent operations in which whites buy vehicles through hire purchase agreements and then pass them to would-be taxi owners, must be stopped."

Saldta president Mr Peter Rabali said whites buy taxis in their names then register them in the names of black drivers.

On paper, he adds, the vehicle belongs to a black person, but in reality it belongs to a white man.

"We want protection from the Government. This is the reason why we do not favour deregulation," Rabali says.

According to Central Statistics Services' racial breakdown of 18 093 new minibuses bought in 1988, 6994 were sold to whites and 3 120 to blacks.

Main thrust aimed at the taxi trade

By JOSHUA RABOROKO

Of the 31 502 used vehicles purchased 13 745 were bought by whites and 11 896 by blacks.

Nqcoya said the figures indicated a true reflection of the whites who were able to penetrate the market.

He said whites were taking advantage of the ignorance of people who do not know who to turn to for money to buy minibuses.

Sabta has a scheme through which it can help would-be taxi operators to obtain vehicles.

"These people must approach us for advise for financial assistance which we run with Westbank," he says.

Rabali said some violent clashes between members of rival taxi associations countrywide can be attributed to competition from white-owned taxis and private operators.

Problem

Another problem for the black taxi industry reported in *Update* is the proposed tram system for Port Elizabeth, for which it appears that a private company, Tramway Holdings, may be given the sole right to run the scheme.

If tram systems become widespread, they can limit the taxi industry's growth.

The problem, says *Update*, is that there is clearly not enough of a market to accommodate 31 000 new taxi operators a year and one reason for introducing tram systems is to avoid building the new roads which would be required to meet continued taxi industry growth.

"While market forces may well resolve this problem in the longer term, competition for limited markets has serious potential for instability. It may well be one cause of the growing violence between generators," says *Update*.

These problems could fuel demands for continued regulation of passenger transport.

Deregulation is throwing up similar problems where black business is concerned. *Update* reports that black businessmen are uneasy about the fact that the removal of controls on township business allows white business to move in.

The Group Areas Certain Rights to Leasehold Act, which came into effect in January, allows the occupants of an estimated 230 000 to 300 000 properties in townships to acquire leasehold title free of charge.

The Act also abolishes a plethora of controls on township businesses and allows whites to operate in the townships provided that they form partnerships with their black counterparts.

Whites hold up to 49 percent of such joint ventures. Previously township business required government permission to raise capital from partnerships with a white person.

President of the National African Federated Chamber of Commerce Mr Sam Motsuenyane, has expressed fears that the Act may simply increase white penetration rather than free black business of restraints.

Added to this problem is the fact that there are big corporates that have established shopping complexes on the borders of the townships, Motsuenyane says.

President of the African Council of Hawkers and Informal Business, Mr Lawrence Mavundla, says many hawkers who sell goods in the streets are actually "fronting" for whites. The people who hawk food in office buildings are often employed by white-owned restaurants.



Mr James Ngcoya . . . "50 percent of taxis are white-owned."

Finance crisis looming

BLACK education is not the only state service which is suffering from the country's poor growth rate, according to the South African Institute of Race Relations' latest *Social and Economic Update*.

The publication, which is written by institute researcher Elaine Cosser, notes that government attempts to improve black facilities are under increasing pressure — and various schemes currently being initiated or exploited face financial and political problems.

While privatisation schemes run up against affordability problems, attempts to ensure white subsidisation of black services via the regional

SOWETAN Reporter

services councils (RSCs) face resistance from some white municipalities, who fear a backlash from their constituents.

In the face of these problems, together with an overall lack of finance, *Update* argues that during the period under review there is evidence that the burden of funding some services is being shifted back to black communities.

Officials have said sanctions and disinvestment are largely responsible for the government's inability adequately to upgrade black services.

Examining plans to extend and improve electricity to black areas, *Update* expresses the view that township residents may be unable to afford partly-privatised electricity (although the authorities believe this kind of service should be cheaper and more efficient).

While Escom's intervention has created some momentum for the extension of electricity to black areas, the research has found that there is no agency pressing for adequate water and sewerage, and these services are poor in urban as well as rural areas.

Update suggests that if services like these are to be subsidised by the RSCs, white consumers will have to foot the bill and white municipalities might face a backlash from their constituents.



Pupils need bursaries.

Erosion of Areas Act 'peaceful revolution'

By Mzikayise Edom

Star 31/5/89

The erosion of the Group Areas Act would pave the way for blacks to participate in central government, South African Institute of Race Relations executive director Mr John Kane-Berman said last night.

Addressing a gathering of members at a function to celebrate the organisation's 60th birthday, Mr Kane-Berman said change in South Africa often took place "on the ground" before it was recognised in law.

He said Government threats of drastic action to enforce the Group Areas Act had not materialised.

"The steady erosion of the Act meant its repeal was inevitable. However, it will be not repealed until it has virtually ceased to operate in practice," he said.

He also said blacks, by their action on the ground, were disproving the view so assiduously propagated in some circles that the state of emergency had eliminated all non-violent opposition to apartheid, leaving only revolution and sanctions as the alternatives.

STANDING EMPTY

Mr Kane-Berman said it was inevitable that apartheid in government schools would sooner or later be eroded.

He said several white schools, especially teacher training colleges, were standing empty while those of blacks were overcrowded. He appealed for the opening of these schools to all races.

He said blacks had won the right to strike simply by ignoring the old legislation prohibiting them from going on strike.

Mr Kane-Berman said: "These rank-and-file people have indeed proved conclusively that it is possible to change this society by taking practical steps on the ground that are neither violent nor provocatively confrontational."

He said a time would come when people staying in places such as Hillbrow would be a single unit and would serve in a single local authority, doing away with the unpopular "own affairs" system.

Victims of apartheid are 'vanquishing the system'

THE victims of apartheid were steadily vanquishing the system, SAIRR executive director John Kane-Berman said last night. B1 Dem 1/6/89.

He told a gathering of members to mark the SAIRR's 60th anniversary that rank-and-file black South Africans were destroying the pass laws and eroding the Group Areas Act by simply moving into white suburbs, even though this was illegal. (305)

"What SA has been experiencing amounts to grass-roots civil disobedience on a mass scale by ordinary people, in spite of the risk — and reality — of arrest."

The civil disobedience had gone unnoticed by local and foreign media, by foreign governments and even by political organisations purporting to represent those grassroots people.

Kane-Berman said government was not the only participant in the change process. "Indeed, change is too important to be left to a government whose heart is not really in it anyway." — Sapa.

Publishing firm wound up

SUSAN RUSSELL B1 Dem 1/6/89.

JOHANNESBURG company Fashion Publishers (Pty) Ltd was placed under final liquidation in the Rand Supreme Court yesterday.

When the application for the provisional winding up of the company was brought in April by Citylab (Pty) Ltd, Fashion Publishers was incorrectly cited as trading as Femme Magazine — an upmarket magazine edited by Susie Jordan — and received wide publicity.

The court yesterday also granted an order amending the citation to delete any reference to Femme Magazine.

In an affidavit, Elisa Becker, a director of Emme Publications which publishes Femme, said Fashion Publishers had never traded as Femme Magazine.

"The position was that until about 1987 Fashion Publishers had been the publisher of Femme magazine with Susie Jordan as editor," Becker said.

"From approximately September 1987 Emme Publications commenced publishing Femme Magazine."

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Star 1/6/89 (305)

Employing no age restriction

By Penny Isemonger

It makes no sense to retire people just because they have reached a certain age, says Dr John Kane-Berman, director of the South African Institute of Race Relations.

He finds his policy of not discriminating against prospective employees on any grounds, including age, is paying dividends.

"If people apply for a job and they are good, we employ them," he says unambiguously. "I only realised how many older women had been employed here since I started more than five years ago, when someone in the office pointed it out to me.

"My secretary joined me shortly after I started, and she was past retiring age. She's been with me through thick and thin. She's an executive secretary of the old school — does shorthand, composes letters on her own and brings to the job a wealth of experience in office routine; the kind of person any chief executive would want to employ.

"From my own experience we have excellent senior people and we don't make any allowance for age," Dr Kane Berman says emphatically. "This is a very, very busy place and the older people keep up; they are not scared of hard work.

"My own dentist died the other day and he was well over 80 and still practising. I had had good service from him — why dump him? If a person is still willing and able then there should be nothing to stop him or her from continuing to work after retiring age. I believe that recently there was a court decision in the US preventing older people from being discriminated against."

Neither is the Institute's policy one of employing people and leaving them to languish in that position. All new posts are advertised first within the organisation and anyone who is keen to move on is given the opportunity.

A particularly good example of this is the career of the Institute's assistant director, Mrs Sheila Whiteman. She joined the organisation about four years ago as a secretary in her late forties, moved to administrative secretary, on to deputy membership manager, followed by a short spell in publicity, then administrative manager and finally to where she is now.

"My children are grown up and all my domestic responsibilities are behind me. Now I have all the time in the world to develop a career," she says.

"It gives me a reason to get up in the morning and I don't have to rush home in the evenings. When I telephoned my younger daughter, who is 30, in London and told her of my recent promotion she said: 'I'm so thrilled for you, Mum, but also for myself because you have shown me that one isn't finished when one reaches 40 or 50.'

"By the time you're in your 50s you've learnt a lot of people skills and have a great deal of experience to bring to a job," she explains. "My message to older women who are going through a difficult patch is to hang in there. Life will always offer another chance. But it is important to keep up one's skills and to keep up-to-date with developments."

After she was retrenched in her mid-40s, Mrs Allegra Rose, who is secretary to deputy director Mr Theo Coggin, did some temping before deciding that she had to find a permanent post.

This was when the difficulties of getting a job at her age were brought home to her. She registered with about 18 employment agencies but none came up with anything. She scoured the ads in The Star and followed up anything which she felt was suitable.

"Four out of five of those contacted said they had an age restriction on applicants," says Mrs Rose. 'Forty-five was considered ancient, some put a limit at 35 years and one or two even at 25 years. When I heard about the job here I applied. My age was no problem. Shortly after I started they sent me on a word-processing course.

"I believe older people have a greater sense of responsiblity than most young people," she said.

Her boss, Mr Coggin, says that he finds Mrs Rose is young in outlook: "She brings a maturity to the job which is so necessary, and presents a younger image by being open-minded

"I find it amazing," he says, "that other organisations take such a blatantly discriminatory attitude towards people of age, who have such gifts."

Mrs Sue Gordon, well-known for her work upgrading the skills and working conditions of domestic workers, is now, at 65, employed full-time at the Institute, where she is able to apply her experience to her work.

Ideally, she says, she would have loved to have gone back to teaching, but no school would employ someone of her age. What a loss to young children to be deprived of her impressive knowledge and experience, simply because she does not pass the age test.

South Africa is facing a critical shortage of skilled people. Hopefully, employers will discard their prejudices against employing people over 40, 50 or even 60, and rather choose someone purely on merit and ability to do the job.



Dr John Kane-Berman, surrounded by a happy and fulfilled band of "older" employees who are making a worthwhile contribution to the SA Institute of Race Relations. From left are Mrs Sheila Whiteman, Mrs Edna Nhlapo, Mrs Doris Wallace, Mrs Sue Gordon, Mrs Jill Wentzel and Mrs Allegra Rose. © Picture by Etienne Rothbart.

POWER FOR BLACKS

Erosion of Areas Act paving the way



JOHN KANE-BERMAN

THE erosion of the Group Areas Act will pave the way for blacks to participate in the central government, Mr John Kane-Berman, executive director of the South African Institute of Race Relations said.

By MZIKAYISE EDOM

Addressing a gathering of members at a function to celebrate the organisation's diamond jubilee (60 years), Kane-Berman said change in South Africa often took place "on the ground" before it was recognised in law.

He said government threats of drastic action to enforce the Group Areas Act had not materialised.

"The steady erosion of the Act meant its repeal was inevitable. However, it will not be repealed until it has virtually ceased to operate in practice," he said.

He also said blacks, by their action on the ground, were disproving the claim so assiduously propagated in some circles that the state of emergency had eliminated all non-violent opposition to apartheid, leaving only revolution and sanctions as the alternatives.

Kane-Berman said it was inevitable that sooner or later, apartheid in government schools would be eroded.

Government is caught in a vicious circle regarding homeownership

Sowetan 6/6/89. 305

IN trying to promote African homeownership — after decades of doing the opposite — the Government is caught in a vicious circle of financial and apartheid-based problems. And it may not be able to solve any of these problems unless African communities are involved in choosing priorities and setting targets.

This emerges from research into the Government's urbanisation policy in the Pretoria / Witwatersrand / Vereeniging area, released by the South African Institute of Race Relations.

In a publication entitled *Politics on the Home Front*, author Paul Hendler says that despite the expansion of homeownership, political conflict over housing has increased.

He predicts that the potential for instability in the townships in the foreseeable future will continue. Material improvements are unlikely to be widespread enough to meet the goals of the "security strategy" of the Government.

Stress

The research shows the Government's stress on African homeownership is prompted not only by a desire to achieve stability, but is meant also to stimulate growth and employment.

The Government aims to implement this "inward industrialisation" policy mostly by means of privatisation

FOCUS

and de-regulation.

The policy also involves the provision of loan finance to black builders, businessmen and homeowners, the promotion of self-help housing schemes, the sale of existing housing stock, and the allocation of more land for black housing.

These strategies face severe obstacles:

- The private market has had little impact on the housing shortage because most township dwellers cannot afford loan finance. For privatisation to succeed, State subsidies would have to be vastly increased.

"But it is precisely the Government's inability or unwillingness to finance housing on this scale that has prompted its stress on privatisation," Hendler writes.

- De-regulation — the removal of controls over the development of African builders and other entrepreneurs — could be a double-edged sword.

While it might generate wealth for some small businessmen and workers, the removal of minimum wage regulations could depress wages and inhibit black consumer power, including people's ability to buy houses.

- Black entrepreneurs — a key factor in the "inward industrialisation" strategy — don't have sufficient capital to enable them to compete with established white developers.

And white developers are constrained by the inability of most residents to afford privatised housing.

- Self-help schemes, backed by low interest loans, are hampered by affordability problems.

Hendler found that black local authorities are inclined to resist implementing these schemes because they stand to accumulate more money by selling sites to established developers.

Strategy

- Attempts to release suitable land for black housing run up against political constraints all along the line.

Because of white resistance, as well as the State's de-centralisation strategy, land has been allocated too far away from the region's economic centre, thus inflicting increased transport and service costs on those who can least afford them — and cancelling out the attempt to place housing within the reach of those who need it most.

- Despite "give-away" prices and a concerted selling drive, the sale of Government housing stock has encountered consumer resistance.

Hendler reports that many tenants are suspicious of the motives behind the sale and the regulations that support it — and people were uneasy about their ability to honour long-term repayments.

- Homeowners will continue to pay substantial service charges, which are likely to remain a source of conflict. Hendler argues that raising Regional Services Council taxes to help provide cheaper services might create further financial and political problems.

Hendler concludes that the Government will not be able to provide housing for all urban residents who require it, and it will have to choose priorities.

"These are only likely to enjoy residents' support, and so contribute to stability, if they are negotiated," he says.

He acknowledges that significant constraints still confront negotiation. "They include the view that dealing with groups operating outside official structures would threaten State security goals."

But other State officials whom Hendler interviewed acknowledged the Government cannot achieve its housing goals unilaterally and will have to negotiate with extra-parliamentary community groups.

According to a senior official of the Department of of Development Planning, the department has already negotiated with what he called "the so-called non-acceptors or the rejectors of the local authority system."

Another official acknowledged that the black local authorities "are not acceptable to all people" and said the department would not hesitate to consult "important other groups who are specifically geared to promote housing and homeownership."

"Unlike the securocrat strategy, negotiations with representative organisations hold out the distinct possibility of more stability in the townships," Hendler says.

Politics on the home front is available from the Publications Department of the South African Institute of Race Relations, PO Box 31044, 2017 Braamfontein, at R10,75 inclusive, R8,75, plus R2 postage and packing.



John Kane-Berman is the director of the SA Institute of Race Relations.



Political comment in this issue by Aggrey Klaaste and Sam Mabe. Sub-editing, headlines and posters by Sydney Matlhaku. All of 61 Commando Road, Industria West, Johannesburg.

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Free Settlement Areas a poser

NON-racial local authorities could emerge out of Free Settlement Areas — but on the other hand Government plans for these areas could result in more Conservative Party controlled city councils, according to research released this week by the South African Institute of Race Relations.

Examining possible consequences of the Government's plans for local government in residentially open areas, the latest *Quarterly Countdown* points to considerable confusion in the ranks of both government and its opponents.

The local government in Free Settlment Areas Act provides that residents in these areas will be represented by multi-racial management committees which will have the power only to advise the local authority. At the same time, white voters in these areas will be entitled to remain on the white municipal voters' roll.

Provisions

According to *Countdown*, these provisions are now disconcerting government, as well as Opposition municipalities.

The Government fears that segregated local government might become unworkable if large numbers of Free Settlement Areas are proclaimed. Hence the first meeting of the Free Settlement Areas Board was told by the retiring Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, Mr Chris Heunis, that the Free Settlement Areas Act should be applied carefully "because it will affect voting rights."

On the other hand, *Countdown* points out, a situation could arise which might deter opposition municipalities from applying for Free Settlement Area status.

For example, if an entire town or city were declared a Free Settlement Area, a minority of white voters could elect to remain on the municipal roll, and this could create the opportunity for the Conservative Party to control the city council.

Legal

Acknowledging this, a minority of NP MPs said they believed that the demise of legally enforced residential separation was inevitable and that Free Settlement Areas would gradually prepare white South Africans for this.

Voting rights may be affected - Heunis

The chairman of the Free Settlement Areas Board, Mr Hein Kruger, has indicated that the Board will not seek to restrict the areas or necessarily be bound by white opinion.

"But because the Board can usually investigate potential Free Settlement Areas only if specified organs of government request this, its scope for expediting change will be limited," *Countdown* says, and adds that recommendations by the Board will be subject to the approval of an increasingly undecided government.

Plans

Further ambiguity exists in government plans for schooling in Free Settlement Areas, and it is likely that some form of multiracial schooling will eventually evolve in these areas.

While NP MPs said that the Government would not accept the opening of State schools to all races, this might happen by the back door because one option being discussed in government circles was to grant private schools the same financing that they would enjoy if they were State schools.

Other solutions being discussed within the Government were the establishment of separate black schools in Free Settlement Areas, or subsidising the travel of children to schools in segregated areas.

Proposals

Both of these proposals would encounter opposition from black residents' groups who are demanding nonracial schooling, *Countdown* says.

One further option under consideration was to transfer control of State schools in Free Settlement Areas to the House of Representatives or the House of Delegates, both of whom were willing to admit pupils of other races to their schools.

Racial

This would be another way to introduce nonracial State schools in Free Settlement Areas without opening white schools.

Quarterly Countdown is available from the Publications Department of the South African Institute of Race Relations, PO Box 31044, 2017 Braamfontein, at R9,50 inclusive, (R7,50 plus R2 postage and packing)

FOCUS



Chris Heunis . . . "Act should be applied carefully."

'Ambiguity in plans for schooling of all races'



The Media Council

THE South African Media Council is an independent body established to deal with various matters affecting media reporting and comment.

One of the council's functions is to receive and act upon complaints from members of the public who have not been able to get satsifaction by approaching a newspaper or other news media directly.

Complaints must relate to published editorial matter and should be lodged within 10 days of publication. But late complaints may be accepted if good reasons can be advanced.

The address is: The Conciliator/Registrar, SA Media Council, PO Box 5222, Cape Town 8000. Telephone: (021) 461-7117. Inquiries are welcomed.

Political comment in this issue by Aggrey Klaaste and Sam Mabe. Sub-editing, headlines and posters by Sydney Matlhaku. All of 61 Commando Road, Industria West, Johannesburg.

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Black unity needed to defeat Boksburg racism — SAIRR

Political Reporter

Despite the apparent success of the black consumer boycott in Boksburg, a broad consumer movement and unity between black townships were needed if the Conservative Party's apartheid policies were to be defeated.

This was said yesterday by the South African Institute of Race Relations in a publication, *The Boksburg Boycott*, written by researchers Harry Mashabela and Monty Narsoo.

They pointed out that black protest against the CP-controlled town council's reistatement of municipal apartheid had been led by an alliance of groups previously hostile to each other.

Extra-parliamentary groups and local management committees in neighbouring townships such as Vosloorus and Reiger Park were working together in opposition to the CP's resegregation of Boksburg.

However, problems could strain the alliance: for example conflicting strategies regarding the general election, and friction about the possibility of more militant action by extra-parliamentary groups if the protest did not achieve its aims quickly.

STRONGER ORGANISATION

The researchers pointed out that stronger organisation and more sustained strategic thinking were needed to "defeat" the CP.

"Some protest leaders see consumer action as a means of directly pressurising the council by reducing its revenue.

"But only a protracted withdrawal of buying power is likely to damage the council's finances. Even this would only have a limited impact as much of its revenue is collected from industry, which is relatively unaffected by the protest."

However, they continued, an attempt by white business to forge an alliance with the black communities had failed.

Other avenues which could be followed by white business were the desegregation of business-controlled amenities and the strenghtening of township business by providing it with capital, expertise and goods and services at special rates.

Harvard fellowships for 1990-1991 offered

Staff Reporter

The South African Institute of Race Relations is again offering black South Africans an opportunity to improve their skills in their chosen professions in the form of a one-year fellowship to Harvard University.

The deputy director of the South African Institute of Race Relations, Mr Theo Coggin, said applications can now be made by candidates who wish to study in the 1990/1991 academic year.

Candidates should already have a proven record in their field of ability and a clear idea of how they would want to use their newly acquired skills in South Africa, should they win a fellowship.

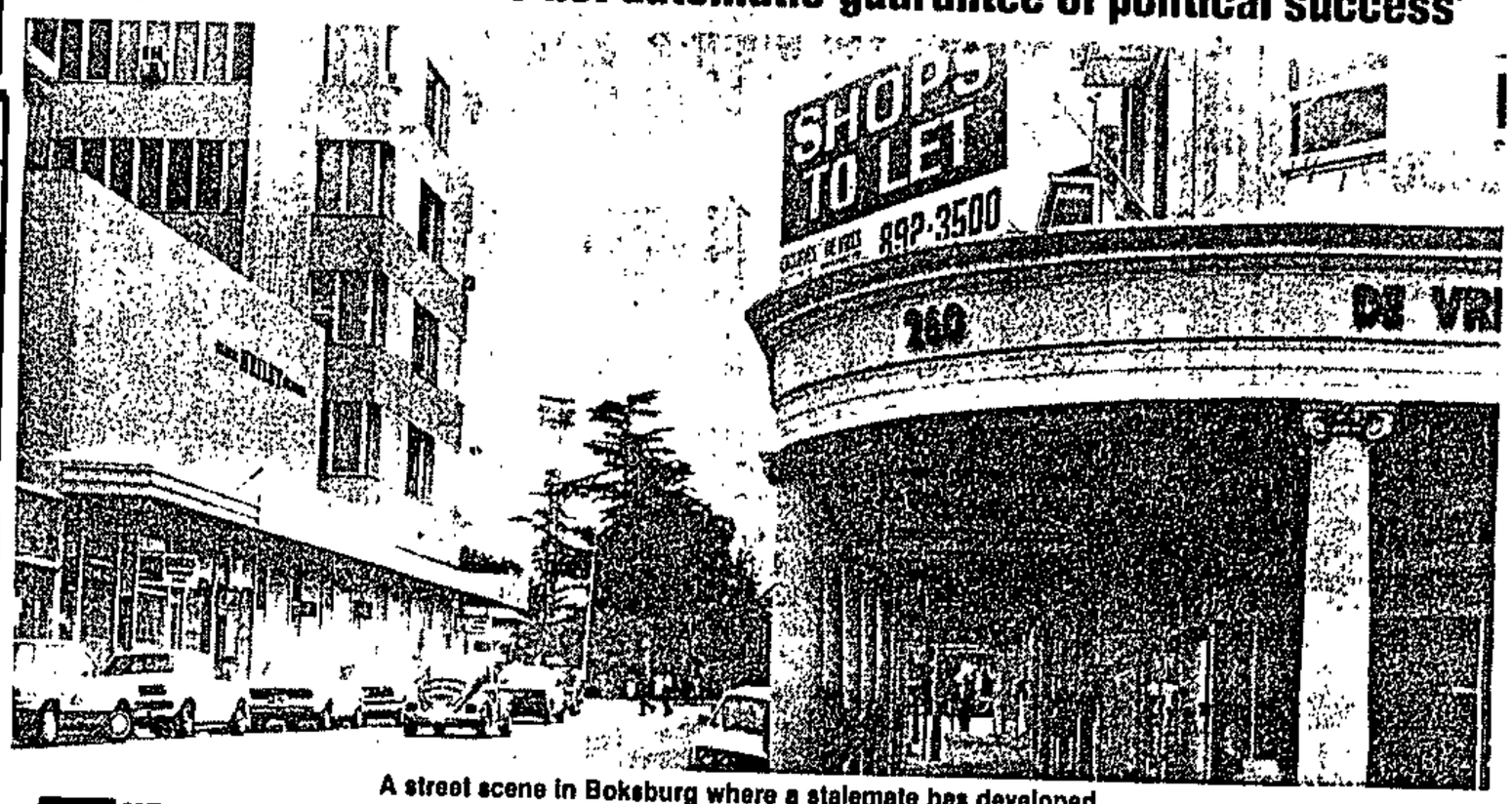
Those selected for fellowships in the past have been generally aged between 30 and 40 years, although there is no age restriction.

But candidates who have just completed, or are in the process of completing, their first degree — unless this degree has been obtained concurrent with, or subsequent to, professional experience in the work place — are normally not awarded fellowships, Mr Coggin added.

To be eligible for the fellowship a candidate does not have to be in possession of a degree.

Application forms can be obtained from: Harvard/South African Fellowship Programme, South African Institute of Race Relations, PO Box 32597, Braamfontein, 2017.

'Using consumer muscle not automatic guarantee of political success'



A street scene in Boksburg where a stalemate has developed

NEW WAYS TO DEFEAT CP POLICIES

Sowetan 4/7/89.

FOCUS

THE stalemate in Boksburg has shown that using consumer muscle is not an automatic guarantee of political success, according to a new publication released by the South African Institute of Race Relations.

The publication, entitled *The Boksburg Boycott*, written by institute researchers Mr Harry Mashabela and Mr Monty Narsoo, points out that if Conservative Party policies are to be defeated, stronger organisation and more sustained strategic thinking will be required.

"Some protest leaders see consumer action as a means of directly pressurising the council by reducing its revenue. But only a protracted withdrawal of buying power is likely to damage the council's finances.

"Even this would only have a limited impact as much of its revenue is collected from industry, which is relatively unaffected by the protest," the researchers write.

Others see the boycott as a short-term means of showing black anger and disconcerting white voters. But this may also require sustained protest as the council has been elected for five years and is not threatened by a short-term loss of voter support.



The publication identifies two areas that need countrywide attention if CP policies are to be defeated: the need to forge unity between black townships, and the need for a broadly based black consumer movement.

Nevertheless, the researchers argue that as black consumers begin using their power in a more organised way, through trial and error, they will discover more effective strategies.

In the event, scope exists for sustained and successful political action.

For example, the CP does not control the security apparatus and cannot use it to suppress black resistance to its policies.

"This, together with the National Party's reluctance to hinder the Boksburg protest, creates opportunities for organisation which are unusual in the current political climate."

Black business, provided it grew further, would help sustain the protest by enabling consumers to do all their shopping in the townships.

A longer-term alliance between black business and organised black consumers could be in the interest of both.

Trade unions could play a significant role in the consumer action, because the East Rand is highly unionised.

There is considerable white support for the protest through the Boksburg Alliance (a coalition of business people, lawyers, sports associations, students and others) which has achieved some well-established successes on which it can build.

White business had been largely responsible for mobilising white opinion against the town council and had also pressed the Government to intervene, "a strategy which might ultimately help decide the controversy's outcome."

But, said the report, the attempt by white business to forge an alliance with the black communities has failed, largely because business has not managed to influence the council.

"The vital question here is whether it could have done more than it did to reduce the effects of the council's policies."

There were at least two areas in which business could do this:

- Business controlled some facilities in Boksburg and could ensure that at least these were desegregated (the ERPM golf course was one example), and
- Business could use its resources to strengthen township business by providing it with capital, expertise and perhaps goods and services at special rates.

Mashabela and Narsoo pointed out that the Government could well have helped to set in motion forces which it could not control by failing to act directly, while at the same time seeking to use the protest to weaken the CP's support.

"If events in Boksburg indeed strengthen black organisation and weaken white commitment to segregation, this will have implications for local authorities controlled by the NP [as] well," the report concluded.

Political comment in this issue by Aggrey Klaaste and Joe Thloloe. Sub-editing, headlines and posters by Sydney Matlhaku. All of 61 Commando Road, Industria West, Johannesburg.

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Star 21/7/87

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Mr John Kane-Berman . . . races mixing freely.

SA economy 'will be the most mixed by year 2000'

By Kaizer Nyatsumba

Black and white South Africans were so interdependent economically that it was impossible to destroy one side without wrecking the country's economy, the executive director of the South African Institute of Race Relations, Mr John Kane-Berman, said in Johannesburg yesterday.

Addressing a conference on "SA Megatrends — The New South Africa", he said South Africa was going through a silent revolution engineered not by political elites, but by ordinary men and women.

This revolution, which saw more blacks becoming educated, apartheid laws being defied and blacks' economic clout increasing, had resulted in people of different races mixing freely in major centres of the country.

By the year 2000 South Africa would be the most integrated economy on this planet, because of the silent revolution.

Labour Party leader, the Rev Alan Hendrickse, said his party's continued participation in the tricameral Parliament did not signal its acceptance of the present constitution.

He said urgent attention had to be given to scrapping the Group Areas, the Reservation of Separate Amenities and Race Classification Acts if negotiations were to take off.

The director of the University of the Witwatersrand's Centre for Policy Studies, Professor Lawrence Schlemmer, said the Government's policy of "own affairs" and "general affairs" could not be defended with any kind of intellectual integrity.

He said there was a great need for Government policy to take realities into account. In order to be effective public policy had to solve the problem it was aimed at and should not be semi-effective or ineffective rearguard action.

Ms Frances Kendall, co-author of "South Africa — The Solution" and "Let the People Govern", said as South Africa searched for a new constitution it should consider the Swiss system in which the people themselves had a veto power over unpopular legislation.

BUSH SLAMMED

The executive director of the South African Institute of Race Relations, Mr John Kane-Berman, at the weekend attacked the United States Government for shilly-shallying over whether or not the National Party leader, Mr F W de Klerk, would be received in the White House.

In a statement Mr Kane-Berman said: "In the last few years political leaders like Chief Buthelezi and Mrs Albertina Sisulu as well as a number of religious personalities have been received by either President Reagan or President Bush.

"One can only applaud the open-mindedness to differing views which this suggests.

"How regrettable, then, that the Americans, like a nation of Hamlets, seem incapable of making up their minds as to whether to receive the leader of the National Party.

"The one-sidedness which appear to be displaying is calculated to reinforce white fears, and in particular Afrikaner fears, that they are expendable in the eyes of the Western powers," he said.

He said that it was hardly conducive to encouraging a climate for negotiation in South Africa.

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Star 26/7/89. 305



John Kane-Berman ... "homelands don't share munificence".

'Rural and urban apartheid' growing

By Kaizer Nyatsumba

Some foreign governments and even liberal South African newspapers were helping create a new form of rural/urban apartheid, the executive director of the South African Institute of Race Relations, Mr John Kane-Berman, said.

Addressing the conference of the Council of Rectors and Deans of Teacher Education in kwaZulu-Natal in Maritzburg, Mr Kane-Berman said people in the 10 homelands were far worse off than those in the urban areas.

He took the "supposedly liberal opposition" to task for demanding that the homelands' lifelines be cut.

Some liberal newspapers, he said, were vocal advocates of this view and complained that the independent homelands and their leaders were heavily subsidised by the South African taxpayer.

"So they should be. The homeland system was introduced — not — because black people resident in those areas demanded it, but because the white electorate voted for it."

He lambasted foreign governments and donor organisations which, because they did not recognise homelands, "sought to exclude them from their munificence".

These governments and donors conveniently forgot that South Africa's 10 homelands had about 1,5 million people living in them, and by blacklisting these homelands they were helping create "a new form of apartheid — between urban and rural people."

Mogoba retains top post

Sowetan 24/8/89

305

THE Reverend Dr Stanley Mogoba has been re-elected president of the South African Institute of Race Relations, and Mrs Helen Suzman has been elected one of the four vice-presidents.

The other three vice-presidents are the Reverend Mvume Dandala, Professor Wiseman Nkuhlu, and Professor Lawrence Schlemmer.

The elections were held at the annual general meeting of the institute's council at the weekend.

Other members of the institute's executive are:

Mr Maurice Allen, Dr Franz Auerbach, Mr Harold Bernstein, Professor John Cartwright, Mrs Heather Frielinghaus, Mr David Gevisser, Mr Peter Horwitz, Mrs Hanna Jaff.

Professor Elwyn Jenkins, Mr Joe Kieser, Mr Sam Mosikili, Dr Charles Simkins, Mr Raymond Tucker, Mr Allan Wentzel, Mr Tom Wixley and Mr John Kane-Berman (executive director).

SAIRR reports scrapping of a number of race laws

THEO RAWANA

THE SA Institute of Race Relations publication Survey was able to report the repeal or relaxation of a number of discriminatory laws this year, SAIRR executive director John Kane-Berman said this week. Bloom 28/9/89

In his report to the institute's AGM, Kane-Berman said this week the annual publication, which monitors discriminatory practices in every walk of life in SA, had previously had little to report other than the enactment of discriminatory laws.

"It is a source of gratification to the institute ... that Survey is now able to report the repeal or relaxation of a number of discriminatory laws and the continued erosion of others. We will continue to work for the final disappearance of all such laws," said Kane-Berman.

One publication published during the year, The Greying of Johannesburg, "was able to show that white resistance to the experience of having black neighbours was minimal, predictions to the contrary notwithstanding".



Thinking 305

Another report, Sharing the Cities, looked at residential desegregation in Harare, Windhoek and Mafikeng. "It showed how racial prejudice was undermined by the greater contact across the colour line that came about as a result of desegregation — contrary to the view often expressed in the past that racial mixing risked provoking friction.

"These two reports, along with reports published the previous year dealing with property price movements and crime trends in racially-mixed areas, have helped to change white thinking on the Group Areas Act.

"The eight reports on the GAA that the institute has published in the last couple of years, as well as direct representation of some of its research findings to parliamentary committees and other groups, has helped create a climate for the softening and, in due course, the repeal of this law," Kane-Berman said.

Restrictee in hospital after attack

By VUSI GUNENE

A WORKER for the South African Council of Churches has become the fifth person restricted under the Emergency to be attacked by a band of would-be assassins.

Buti van der Merwe, an employee of the SACC in Johannesburg, is in hospital for with two serious abdominal wounds after being shot at by gun-wielding men in Alexandra township.

In response to the shooting, the SACC said: "The government cannot escape the responsibility for any attacks on or loss of lives of the restrictees. The Church calls upon the government to lift restrictions on all restrictees and remove the legislation that makes it possible for it to harass, detain, torture, maim, restrict, and ban all opposition to it racist rule".

Attacks on former detainees and restricted people have this year claimed the lives of two activists. On April 14, Christopher Ntuli of Natal was killed by unknown persons after reporting to the local police station as required by his restriction order. On August 16, Eric Gumede of kwaMashu, Durban was killed in a pre-dawn attack at his home. Abortive attempts have been made on the lives of at least two other restrictees.

305 WMail 6-12/10/89.

FW urged to stop conflict

B Day 13/10/89

THEO RAWANA

PRESIDENT F W de Klerk should use the resources at his disposal to ensure that conflict became a thing of the past, SA Institute of Race Relations acting executive director Theo Coggin said in Cape Town last night.

Addressing the annual meeting of the Western Cape region of the SAIRR, Coggin called on De Klerk to play a proactive role in creating a climate for negotiation and reconciliation.

Welcoming the pending release of Walter Sisulu and seven other political prisoners, Coggin said such an act could only lead to dramatically improved race relations, which were a prerequisite in any plural society.

He urged De Klerk to ensure that conflict — particularly violent conflict — became a thing of the past.

Religion, he said, was the one social institution in SA that embraced an important set of shared affiliations across the entire spectrum of the community.

Pointing out that SA was in the midst of a social revolution, Coggin said it should not be surprising that stresses occurred in such a society.

"Many have ideas as to what that political dispensation should be — others find it easier to decide what it should not be." In the quest of society to break out of the politics of one form of exclusivity, society should not fall into the trap of another form of exclusivity.

Coggin said militarisation was often seen only in terms of the conscription of young white men into the armed forces and the huge amount spent on defence by government.

But, he added, "another process of militarisation has also occurred — the process that has taken place as both the ANC and PAC have seen the revolutionary struggle as complementary to their other struggles, including that of negotiation.

305 Rebut

"The revolutionary ethos is the opposite of pluralism for it requires undemocratic, military-style organisation among the populace, and not only among its soldiers. That is no different to an army involved in a process of war in which it tries to get the population on its side so that it can adequately rebut attacks from insurgents."

Militarisation required a kind of unity that was authoritarian and the antithesis of pluralism, he said.

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Seeking solutions to skills shortage

305

ST Times 3/12/89

SOUTH AFRICA's shortage of skills has existed for some time now, but as each year passes it becomes more desperate.

Businessmen, Government spokesmen and politicians across the board have identified it as one of the most pressing problems facing South Africa at this time.

Such a statement may appear a little excessive in times when sanctions are looming larger than ever and inflation is eating into the pockets of millions of South Africans.

However, a lack of high level skills will dramatically impact on the economy in the long term, stunting growth and making it necessary to import skills at a huge cost to the country.

Strangely enough, the skills shortage is sharply contrasted to the burgeoning unemployment figures. The most popular statistics to be quoted of late are those published by the SA Institute of Race Relations (SAIRR).

The Institute estimated towards the end of last year that SA would be saddled with a shortage of 200 000 skilled workers by the year 2000.

By way of contrast, the Institute for Futures Research at the University of Stellenbosch reported that the labour pool was likely to grow from 12-million in 1985 to 17,9-million by the turn of the century.

Solutions

But if past trends continued, it reckoned the modern economy was likely to be able to employ only 8,1-million people by then. Other estimates are that economic sanctions could cause unemployment to reach well over 10-million by the end of the century.

The obvious solutions are increased training, job creation and active promotion of a high economic growth rate. Political and economic stability are vital to attract the dwindling number of skilled immigrants, and stem the tide of skittish emigrants who have caused a brain drain.

The solution, unfortunately, is not quite so simple. Sanlam chairman Tjaart van der Walt believes that a structural change of the skills profile is essential while Foundation for Research Development (FDR) group executive Rein Arndt says SA needs to reassess its educational priorities.

At the moment, SA invests about 2% of the private sector's salary bill on education and training each year, compared with between 6% and 10% in leading industrial nations.

Competitor

Japan, for example, spends 50% more of its Gross National Product on education than SA, and has almost four times as many men over the age of 25 with tertiary education.

The argument that one cannot compare a First World country with a predominantly Third World one is, of course, relevant, but it is important to establish what SA needs to achieve if it is to move into the realm of a major competitor on the world market.

At present, 45% of the population is illiterate, 60% of the total labour force is unskilled, and while 80% of the economically active population is black, whites occupy about 95% of managerial jobs.

By Robyn Chalmers

But it's not all bleak

The imbalance is enormous, especially when one considers that 77% of the economically active population will be black by the year 2000. Whites will comprise 11%.

It is not all bleak, however. There is extensive activity in the field of training and education on the part of both Government and the private sector.

In addition, Central Statistical Services' figures indicate that the exodus of South Africa's professionals has all but stopped, and political unrest in the country has diminished, paving the way for renewed efforts in recruiting overseas skills.

CSS figures show that SA gained 265 people through immigration in April this year, compared with a net loss of 206 in April 1988. The net gain of people in upper occupational categories was 46 from January to April compared with a loss of 62 in the same time last year.

This year could see a net gain of professional people, which will be a great turn up for the books. Consider, for example, 1986, when a total of 13 711 South Africans fled the country. Of these, 2 164 were highly skilled, and offset against an immigration figure of 1 026, the net loss was 1 138.

Positive

The formation of the SA Fabrication and Construction Training Trust Fund 18 months ago to co-ordinate a R300-million training programme for various synthetic fuel projects was but one of the schemes initiated jointly by the Government and the private sector.

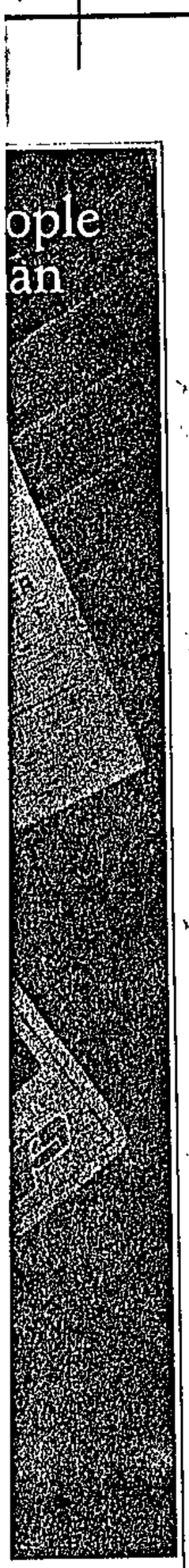
The programme aims to supply more than 30 000 artisans for a wide range of industries in the next decade. An estimated 2 000 welders and other technicians have been fed into the workforce since the programme began.

At the end of May, Sankorp and Sanlam announced the establishment of the SA Skills Foundation. Its intention is to mobilise the private sector and to promote discussion within the sector on the problems facing industry with skills shortages.

Unfortunately, during recessionary times, training tends to be the first item companies cut back on. A recent SAIRR publication stated that many companies train for their immediate needs only, rather than for long-term as they did in the past.

The positive development of all the debate is that both the Government and the private sector have been forced to consider the issues deeply.

One cannot expect a solution overnight. This problem has taken decades to develop and will take even longer to eradicate, if ever.



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Post-apartheid SA is already being created

S/Times 17/12/89



by John Kane-Berman

executive director of the South African Institute of Race Relations

AT THE Commonwealth conference in Kuala Lumpur in October the new secretary-general of that organisation said the structures of apartheid remained intact.

True enough, the 1983 constitution which excludes blacks from Parliament is still in force; the Group Areas Act lingers on the statute book; white schools are half empty or closing down while black classrooms overflow.

But is it the whole truth to say apartheid remains intact? Is it not nearer the truth that apartheid structures are crumbling wherever you look?

The Group Areas Act, for example, has been so eroded by blacks who have moved into supposedly white areas that the attorney-general of the Witwatersrand has said it is logistically impossible to enforce it.

University campuses, once segregated by law, may now admit students irrespective of race.

They committed themselves to that battle 30 years ago when the colour bar was imposed on them, and they won it.

In the '70s, black workers threw themselves into a battle for trade union rights and they also triumphed. So-called squatters in Cape Town helped to destroy the pass laws when they resisted deportation to the homelands.

The authorities left no stone unturned to sweep the people of Crossroads and other settlements out of the Peninsula.

Shanties were torn down or set on fire. Men would come home from work to find their families missing, herded on to trains to the Transkei and Ciskei. Dogs and armed demolition squads would arrive in the middle of the night in midwinter.

Sometimes the victims of this reign of official terror fled into the bush. At other times they were rounded up and deported by bus. But the squatters returned to the city.

They left the buses or trains at the first stop and rebuilt their shelters. Unable to vote against the pass laws with ballot papers, they voted them out with their feet. And so did millions of others.

Eventually the Government capitulated. Mr P W Botha spoke the plain truth in 1986 as the pass laws were repealed when he said they had failed utterly.

Losers

When the Commonwealth man said apartheid remained intact, he thought he was knocking the Government.

In fact, he was denying the achievements of black South Africans who had long since set in motion the unstoppable disintegration of apartheid. He was telling them they were losers.

It is fashionable these days to hold conferences about post-apartheid South Africa. In one sense, we hardly need them.

Post-apartheid South Africa is not something that is going to be legislated into existence by some future government.

It is already being created on the ground everywhere you look. Our economy will by the year 2000 be one of the most racially integrated on this planet.

Beneath the trauma of the last few years this country has been undergoing a process of socio-economic transformation so profound that it amounts to a silent revolution.

Intolerance

One of the main causes of the conflict in South Africa from 1984 to 1986 was that at the very moment when social and economic integration had become irreversible, the Government imposed a straitjacket of political apartheid upon the country in the form of the 1983 constitution. The game is now up.

Even if we cannot yet say when negotiations will begin, we can start thinking about what kind of political system should replace the present one.

The popular term these days is "nonracial democracy". This rightly underlines the need to transcend a race-based system, but it ignores an equally important issue: Are those who urge a nonracial democracy thinking of a multi-party system or a one-party state?

The question is not easy to answer, since few people committed to one-party systems are likely to say before they get into power that they will ban all their opponents when and if they do.

We would therefore do well to scrutinise their behaviour while they are still in opposition.

The worrying thing here is the intolerance which seems so prevalent in leftwing politics. Of course, the left does not have a monopoly of intolerance — the right has always been intolerant.

What is new in the last five years is the growing intolerance on the left.

More than half the fatalities in political violence in this period are accounted for by conflict within the black community in various parts of the country. Unlike in the '70s, violent coercion is now all too common in strikes.

Nor has intolerance been confined to black areas. It has marred the reputation of some famous South African institutions, among them the English-language universities.

False

The striking thing about all this intolerance is not its opposition to apartheid, but its intolerance of other opponents of apartheid.

Some political organisations portray themselves as the only true representatives of black opinion in South Africa. Such claims need to be treated with scepticism.

Swapo made precisely such a claim with regard to the people of Namibia. The recent election there showed how false it was. It proved that Swapo spoke for the majority of people, and nobody can quarrel with that, but speaking for most people is radically different from speaking for all of them.

The election showed that Namibians wanted a multi-party system.

Had there been elections in Angola when colonial rule ended there, it too would have become a multi-party state. But elections were denied, and power was assumed by one party without giving others a chance. The result was civil war — which third countries have been quick to exploit.

Ironic

Of the so-called Frontline states only two — Botswana and Zimbabwe — have multi-party systems, and the present government of the latter is even now trying to put an end to that.

How ironic that it should be doing so just when political monopolies are on the way out in central and eastern Europe, where the totalitarian authority of communist parties is crumbling with astonishing speed.

Unlike this part of Europe, South Africa already has a multiplicity of political groups.

This is a bull point for us. We need to give them all access to Parliament. This means, obviously, removing the colour bar from the constitution.

It also means lifting banning orders to allow all parties equal democratic opportunities. Let us hope Mr De Klerk will do this early next year.

At the same time, all political parties and movements need to demonstrate that although they may contest one another's viewpoints fiercely, they each acknowledge the right of all the others to compete for political power.

Commitment

Commitment to work for the eradication of apartheid is no longer sufficient.

Hand-in-hand with it must go an equally strong commitment to work for and uphold a multi-party parliamentary democracy under the rule of law.

This commitment needs to be made explicitly and without ambiguity. And it needs to be more than mere words about the future — it must be demonstrated by much greater tolerance in the present.

● *From an address to a graduation ceremony at UCT this week.*

Black matric failures get credits for passes

BLACK students who have failed matric can now receive credit for subjects passed and rewrite only the subjects they have failed, says the latest annual SA Institute of Race Relations (SAIRR) Survey.

This major change in black education was one of many findings made by the SAIRR.

But the Survey said there was violent opposition to the DET's ruling that black students who failed matric (totalling some 20 000 excluding the homelands in 1988) must enrol at adult education centres instead of returning to school.

In Soweto students who were not re-admitted set cars alight and assaulted teachers.

An improvement noted was legislation passed in March 1988 to upgrade the farm school system for black children.

About a third of black pupils outside the homelands attend schools on white farms.

SAIRR's research found the shortage of black classrooms was so great that even if all white classrooms were opened to blacks the nationwide shortage would only be reduced by 20%.

ACHMED KARIEM

Eliminating apartheid was therefore only part of the solution.

SAIRR said the situation was aggravated by a massive increase in black enrolment. In 1988 black matriculants outnumbered whites by 31 000.

Furthermore, SAIRR said that during the period under review, the government's 10-year plan to equalise educational opportunities by 1996 was put on hold because the country's growth rate had not generated enough funds to allow for the increased spending.

At the time, then National Education Minister F W de Klerk said although progress had been made, sanctions and disinvestment had contributed to the plan not being realised.

Of the R9,4bn budgeted for education (including the independent homelands) during the 1988/89 financial year, 43% was allocated to black education, 40% to whites, 12% to coloureds and 5% to Indians.

STAR 27/12/89 (305) (300)

New Race Relations findings

7-m South Africans defy squatting laws

Staff Reporter

Despite the anti-squatting laws, 7 million people were living in and around South African cities in self-erected housing, according to the recently-released SA Institute of Race Relations Survey.

The survey covers the last two years of the 1980's and provides a comprehensive list of statistics and facts on social, economic and political trends in South Africa.

High up on the agenda was education, and the survey said that a significant change was that black students who failed matric could now receive credit for subjects passed and rewrite only the subjects they failed.

It said that 36 percent of all black children between the ages of six and 14 in rural areas outside the homelands did not attend school; that if all vacant white classrooms were opened to blacks, the countrywide black classroom shortage would be reduced by only 20 percent and that last year there were 31 000 more black than white matriculants.

Other interesting findings were:

● 20 million people in SA do not have electricity.

● 4 012 people were killed in political violence between September 1984 and December 1988.

● Six trade union members are awaiting execution for killing fellow workers during strikes.

● Since 1980 the economy has grown by 0,7 percent while the economically active population has grown by 2,5 percent.

Segregation

● In at least nine towns controlled by the Conservative Party in the Transvaal it was not necessary to reintroduce segregation because municipalities had never been opened to all races.

● 520 Multinational companies have disinvested from SA and Namibia.

● Armscor has earned more than R2 billion from arms exports in the past 12 years and it exports to 39 countries.

● There are more than 100 unsolved assassinations of political activists in SA.

● A local division of the Supreme Court has said that trials could be declared unfair if the accused do not have legal representation.

● The average number of children per black woman is 2,8 in urban areas, 4,2 in semi-rural areas, 5,7 in rural areas and 6,3 in the "independent" homelands.

● There was a 29 percent drop in the number of executions in South Africa last year.

● The Human Rights Commission says the picture of detentions in the last 12 months is dominated by releases.

● South Africa's population is growing at a rate of 1 million a year.

● South Africa spends 5,8 percent of the gross national budget on health, 16 percent more than the World Health Organisation's target of 5 percent.

Ivory Coast opens door to links with SA

PARIS — Ivory Coast President Felix Houphouet-Boigny opened the door to diplomatic relations with South Africa in an interview published yesterday.

He told the influential French daily *Le Monde* it was up to Pretoria, which is campaigning to end black Africa's diplomatic boycott, to make the first move.

"South Africa has not yet asked us, it is not up to me to do it," said Mr Houphouet-Boigny, interviewed in Abidjan on December 19.

Africa's longest-serving leader said his conservative West African country's policy was to have relations with any foreign state provided it respected the Ivorian regime.

President de Klerk said earlier this month after a meeting at Mr Houphouet-Boigny's home town of Yamoussoukro that he hoped to establish diplomatic ties.

REALITY

"I do not think that it (diplomatic ties) is a dream, it can become a reality but I do not want to bind the government of President Houphouet-Boigny and I do not want to make specific predictions," Mr de Klerk told a news conference on his first foreign trip since taking office in September.

At that time the Ivorians had no comment to make on their relations with Pretoria.

The establishment of diplomatic links with the Ivory Coast would be a political coup for Mr de Klerk, who has vowed to end racial discrimination in South Africa.

President Houphouet-Boigny has earned criticism from most African states for his long-standing policy of dialogue with Pretoria. — Reuter.

Only 2 800 managers are black – survey

Staff Reporter

There were only 2 860 blacks in managerial, executive and administrative positions in the country, compared to 180 000 whites, according to the recently released "Race Relations Survey".

Published by the South African Institute of Race Relations, the survey documents social, economic and political trends in 1988/9.

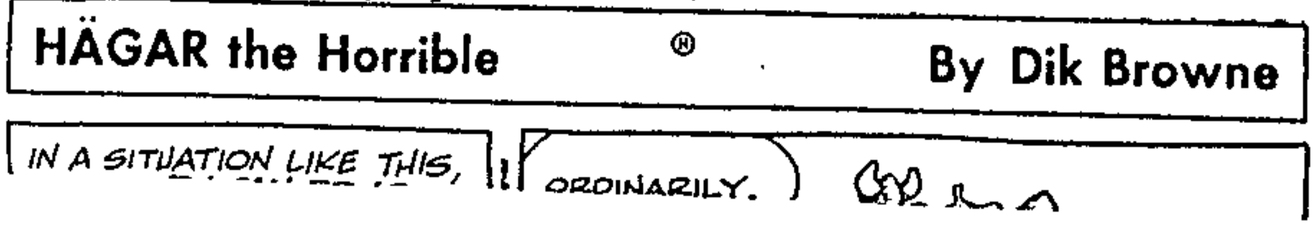
The chairman of the National Manpower Commission, Dr Hennie Reynders, said one of the reasons for the lack of black managerial progress was the attitude of white personnel. Although they paid lip service to black advancement, they displayed an unwillingness or inability to do so in practice.

On the labour front, the number of man-days lost in strike action during 1988 was 914 388, against 5,8 million in 1987 — an 84 percent drop.

Strike action in the first six months of 1989 was up by almost 200 percent compared with the same period the previous year.

Workers' wages increased an overall average of 22,5 percent in the first five months of 1989. However, there was a downward trend in wage settlements between unions and employers. The increases averaged 16,7 percent in the first five months of 1989 — lower than the 1988 average of 17,9 percent.

There were an estimated one million registered unemployed people, but the real unemployement figure was probably closer to three million.



S.A. INSTITUTE OF RACE RELATIONS

1990 — 1992

Govt funding continues

TANIA LEVY B Day 5/11/90

DIRECT government spending on infrastructure in black areas is still more than 10 times the amount spent by Regional Services Councils (RSC), the SA Institute of Race Relations (SAIRR) said in its latest newsletter.

The newsletter said government officials had acknowledged RSC funding alone could not eliminate existing backlogs in the townships and more state and parastatal funds would be spent on black infrastructure in the future.

Despite continued state funding, black local authorities are unable to maintain, let alone develop, township infrastructure.

Black local authorities would have to increase their total income by 40% to be financially independent, the SAIRR said.

The authorities seem to be looking to the Development Bank of SA to shoulder an increasing amount of the burden of development in black areas, the SAIRR said.

SA will enter 2000 seriously unskilled

TANIA LEVY

SA WILL be short of 200 000 skilled workers but have a surplus of 9-million semi- and unskilled people by the year 2000, according to the Stellenbosch University's Institute of Futures Research.

Quoting these figures, the SA Institute for Race Relations (SAIRR) says in its newslatter that apartheid ensures white men remain SA's single largest source of high-level manpower.

While blacks made up more than 86% of the population, they contributed only 2,9% of SA's accountants, 6% of lawyers, 5,5% of scientists and 0,1% of engineers.

But 496 000 managers, the majority black, will be needed by the year 2000, the institute says.

The National Manpower Commission says the shortage of workers with university degrees will increase to 228 000 in the next decade.

However, an SAIRR survey shows only 65 748 black students enrolled at SA universities in 1987, compared with 150 890 whites.

D Wday 23/11/90

305 X8



● SISULU ● HURD

SAIRR predicts UK stance shift

THE British government might be shifting in favour of the ANC's negotiating position, according to the SA Institute of Race Relations (SAIRR).

This emerges from the latest issue of Quarterly Countdown, the institute's monitor of political reform.

The publication said yesterday reports that a possible meeting between British Foreign Secretary Douglas Hurd and ANC official Walter Sisulu would herald a shift in the British position were "more than three years behind the times".

ANC leader Oliver Tambo had held talks with the then British Foreign Secretary Sir Geoffrey Howe outside London as long ago as September 1986. Subsequently Downing Street claimed Howe had seen Tambo in his capacity as EEC president.

"This meeting in fact followed an earlier abortive attempt by Sir Geoffrey to meet Mr Tambo, which was rebuffed by Mr Tambo."

The significant new development, Countdown said, was thus not any Sisulu/Hurd meeting but the British government's support for the UN Declaration on Apartheid endorsed by the OAU in Harare last year. The declaration was based on the ANC's guidelines, and was endorsed by both Britain and the US, despite the existence of other negotiating documents and despite strong opposition from the Black Consciousness Movement (BCM).

"The General Assembly appears to have ignored these objections," says Countdown, and points out that it also ignored Inkatha's constitutional guidelines and the South African government's five-year plan.

Countdown said Britain and the US lobbied for modifications to the document later made by the UN.

The ANC's claim to special status was watered down and the ANC's reference to the need for an interim government, to which the South African government had strongly objected, was deleted.

The BCM said the ANC was anxious to secure a strategic advantage over both the South African government and rival liberation movements, and had drawn up the document in order to get the widest possible acceptance of its own negotiating position. — Sapa.

BD pg 23/11/90

Areas could be opened over councils' heads — analyst

305

MANY new "free settlement areas" could be declared in a short period of time and over the heads of local authorities, according to the latest issue of the SA Institute of Race Relations (SAIRR) journal, Quarterly Countdown.

Free Settlement Areas Board (FSAB) chairman Hein Kruger told Countdown writer Shaun Mackay most city councils were holding back on applying for areas to be opened.

They were leaving this decision to township developers and the ministers' councils. The only application to the board by a council so far had come from Durban.

Noting that government was planning to simplify the free settlement areas procedure, Countdown speculated that Kruger would begin to use his power to order investigations into the opening of areas without the go-ahead from councils.

Business Day Reporter

Countdown suggested this could result in many more areas being declared free settlement areas in a shorter period of time, especially as Kruger also conceded it was probably best to open a number of free settlement areas at once to prevent slums and overcrowding.

Inspectors

"This signals an important shift in government's thinking on free settlement areas." Countdown said.

The publication noted group areas inspectors had not yet initiated any prosecutions, and there was no evidence they had pressed any black people to leave white suburbs.

It suggested these inspectors might have been instituted to dissuade black people from living in white group areas rather than to enforce the Act strictly.

To date, more than half the 70 proposed inspectors had been appointed.

But although authorities throughout SA seemed reluctant to enforce the Group Areas Act, government might still impose residential segregation by law, Countdown said.

Government sources told Mackay it had not ruled out the possibility of introducing a "community relations Bill" which would embody the intentions of both the Group Areas Act and the Reservation of Separate Amenities Act, but would seek to apply these principles "without being discriminatory".

The first four free settlement areas were proclaimed during the period under review. These were Zonnebloem (District Six) in Cape Town, Windmill Park in Boksburg, Country View in Midrand and the Warwick Triangle in Durban.

From a humble shack to the world spotlight



ron Khumalo as he appears on the cover of the book.

Soweto worker's beaming face now familiar to the influential

By STAN MHLONGO

A YOUNG self-employed Soweto electrician has found himself in the world spotlight.

Aaron "Bobo" Khumalo's photograph appears on the cover of the respected 1989/90 *Race Relations Survey* – published each year by the SA Institute of Race Relations.

The survey, which is distributed worldwide, has become compulsory reading with its pointed picture of how race relations affects South Africans in law, business, education and poltics.

The gap-toothed Khumalo, 33, was caught in action building his double-story shack at the Dlamini Township Squatter camp by 'top photographer Mark Peters.

His face has been seen by influential figures and pressure groups worldwide.

The book says Khumalo is representative of several million who have resorted to informal settlements because rapid black urbanisation has failed to meet the demand for conventional housing.

"They have used whatever material they have been able to lay their hands on: wood and mud, old packing cases and crates, corrugated iron, sheets of plastic, and occasionally bricks or concrete blocks.

"Sometimes referred to as squatters – a term not always technically accurate – these 'informal settlers' have been described as 'South Africa's new city builders'."

The Khumalo family moved to the camp in 1988 after Soweto authorities demolished their shack at Mochaeneng, near the Regina Mundi Church.

Before that they had lived in backyard shacks as sub-tenants.

Khumalo, with a Standard Six education, was amazed this week to discover that his face is now known far and wide. Perhaps even in places he has never heard or dreamt of, let alone hope to visit.

"I don't know how I have come to share the spotlight with celebrities such as Archbishop Desmond Tutu," said Khumalo.

The electrician – whose talents extend to building and spray-painting – has built himself a "double-storey" shanty – the only one in the Dlamini Camp.

Khumalo said he did not want to spend his life living in a shanty with his wife Yvonne and two kids, Mandla and Nkosinathi.

"I want better better accommodation for my family," he said.

Although Khumalo said he had no political affiliations, he recalled the 1976 student unrest with sadness.

"I wish the political situation in the country would change faster for the benefit of everyone.



Khumalo and wife Yvonne with their son Nkosinathi. Pic: MIKE MZILENI

'Urgent debate' on poverty needed

Staff Reporter and Sapa

A debate about how to eliminate poverty in South Africa was more urgent now than at any time since the 1930s, leading economist and author, Dr Charles Simkins said last night.

Addressing the SA Institute of Race Relations at a briefing to open debate on ways to create a climate of economic growth in South Africa, Dr Simkins said he believed it was necessary to devise policies that were affordable, bearing in mind that South Africa was "rather a poor country".

The best framework in which to raise the living standards of the broad mass of South Africans was a multiparty social democracy, involving intervention in markets when necessary, as well as "the dismantling of particular privileges which obstruct equality".

(305) (2040) STAR 6/2/90



A little boy waves an ANC flag at an anti-apartheid rally attended by about 9 000 people in London's Trafalgar Square on Sunday. Picture: REUTER

EC top-level 'troika' in bid to promote dialogue in SA

LONDON — The way has been cleared with the SA government for a visit by a high-level "troika" of representatives from the EC.

A spokesman for the Department of Foreign Affairs in Ireland said yesterday that Irish Foreign Minister Gerard Collins met President F W de Klerk in Windhoek on Thursday last week.

He said at the meeting, which was also attended by Foreign Minister Pik Botha, the SA government indicated what dates it found suitable for the visit.

With Ireland currently holding the EC presidency, Collins is chairman of the EC's Foreign Ministers Commission which, in February, decided to send a delegation to SA.

The troika, led by Collins, will include the foreign ministers or senior foreign office officials of France and

KIN BENTLEY

Italy. The visit was likely to take place between mid-April and mid-May.

This means it should occur during or soon after the first formal talks between the government and the ANC, scheduled to start on April 11.

The troika visit is aimed at promoting dialogue between government and the ANC and other organisations representing the black majority.

Sapa reports from Windhoek that the EC is to provide Namibia with R28m to support priority projects.

This was announced by the director-general of the Development Commission for the European Communities, Dr Dieter Frisch, who led a delegation to Namibia's independence celebrations.

The aid would be in addition to that available for development assistance once Namibia becomes a member of the Lome Convention.

About R14m would be for targeted budgetary support as the new government was inheriting a large deficit.

An amount of R8m had been pledged for health services in the north and would be channeled through the WHO.

An amount of R570 000 was for English-language training for 100 teachers at the Lusaka-based UN Institute for Namibia.

The commission had also provided R2m towards a development project at St Mary's Mission at Odibo in the far north. Another R3,2m was allocated for community and income-generating projects in Owambo.

The EC had also pledged R200 000 to the Namibian Institute for Social and Economic Research for urban planning and research.

Economic debate must focus on material deprivation of blacks — SAIRR

A POLARISED socialism-versus-capitalism debate could distract attention from the urgent need to deal with black material deprivation, the SA Institute of Race Relations (SAIRR) says in its latest Social and Economic Update.

Any post-apartheid government will face enormous demands to match political with economic emancipation and the temptation to opt for symbolic quick-fix solutions like nationalisation will be great, the SAIRR report says.

CHARLENE SMITH

It says businessmen have pointed to socialism's failures in Eastern Europe. The trade unions, as represented by Cosatu's Jay Naidoo, have on the other hand pointed to "the failure of capitalism in SA. More than four-million are unemployed, five-million are homeless, millions live in abject poverty in rural areas. The health, social security and education systems are in a crisis. There has been virtually no growth in the economy for the past 10 years".

The SAIRR urges that the debate be comprehensive, and not just a dialogue between business and trade unions.

"The jobless, the rural poor and the illiterate must be brought in as well. If they are not brought in from the outset we will see a new form of apartheid opening up between whites and urbanised, housed, unionised, educated blacks on the one hand, and the illiterate, malnourished, unemployed urban and rural poor on the other," the Update suggests.

"Any new government in SA will need to be structured in such a way as to ensure that the black platteland and the jobless all over the country are in a position to see to it that their needs are looked after, and not only in the interests of the urban proletariat."

Inequality probe vital

Sowetan Correspondent

THE SA Institute of Race Relations has warned that a polarised debate, contrasting socialism and capitalism, could detract attention from black material inequality.

The latest edition of the Institute's publication, *Social and Economic Update*, pointed out that any post-apartheid government will face enormous demands to match political with economic liberation.

The report said the debate on black material inequality should be comprehensive.

"The jobless, the rural poor, and the illiterate must be brought in as well.

"If they are not, we will see a new form of apartheid opening up between whites and urbanised, housed, unionised, educated blacks on the one hand, and the illiterate, malnourished, unemployed urban and rural poor on the other," it said.

Cpress 4/4/90 (305)

By CONNIE MOLUSI

A debate could take attention off need to tackle black poverty

A socialism versus capitalism debate could distract attention from the urgent need to deal with black poverty.

In its latest *Social and Economic Update*, the South African Institute of Race Relations (SAIRR) said any post-apartheid government would face enormous demands to match political change with economic liberation and the temptation to go for "quick fixes" like nationalisation would be great.

The standard response by business to the nationalisation demands has been to point to the failure of socialist monopolies in Central and Eastern Europe.

The response of Cosatu general secretary Jay Naidoo was: "The failure of capitalism in South Africa is evident to the vast majority of our people."

■ ■ ■ ■ ■

He said more than four million people were unemployed and five million were homeless, while others lived in abject poverty. The health, social security, and education systems were in crisis. There had been virtually no growth in the economy for the past 10 years, said Naidoo.

The institute said: "It would be a pity if a polarised socialism-capitalism debate were now obscuring the real issue of how to address the question of black poverty."

The publication urges that the debate should be comprehensive, not just a dialogue between business and trade unions.

"The jobless, rural poor and illiterate must be brought in as well.

"If they are not brought in from the outset we will see a new form of apartheid opening up between whites and urbanised, housed, unionised, educated blacks on the one hand; and the illiterate, malnourished, unemployed and rural poor on the other."

The *Update* said any new government would need to be structured to ensure that rural blacks and the jobless all over the country were in a position to see that their needs were looked after and not only the interests of the urban working population.

The institute said although the task of reducing inequalities had begun and the *Social and Economic Update* had been able to report considerable progress in reducing inequalities in some spheres, enormous backlogs remained.

Evidence suggested that State subsidies for social services were becoming increasingly necessary if racial inequalities were to be reduced significantly.

"In fact, the government is increasingly biased in its allocation of subsidies in favour of blacks rather than whites.

"There are indications, for example, that subsidies for first-time home buyers among blacks is increasing as against a decrease among whites.

"The government is also thinking of extending a capital subsidy scheme for serviced sites – an initiative which is likely to favour sub-economic black housing."

This acknowledged that, although more black people were able to afford housing, the vast majority still required a subsidy if they were to become the owners of even basic homes.

Because home ownership was a key part of the government's strategy to achieve both security and growth, it acknowledged that the market alone could not meet most black people's needs for basic housing.

■ ■ ■ ■ ■

The institute said recent research revealed that health standards among the race groups were still disparate enough to warrant increased State expenditure.

However, this was one area where the government was pressing ahead with plans to reduce its funding burden. It hoped to transfer as much of this as possible to black patients, said the SAIRR.

It warned, however, that if this policy was pursued it was likely to lead to a decline in black access to health care, since most black people did not have medical insurance.

SAIRR bursary students in good pass rate

TANIA LEVY

UNIVERSITY students on bursaries administered by the SA Institute of Race Relations (SAIRR) achieved an 83% pass rate last year.

In a Press statement yesterday, the institute's deputy director Theo Coggin said the pass rate was evidence of the degree of commitment to education among recipients of institute bursaries.

Some 80% of the institute's 397 bursary students who wrote their first year examinations passed, including four candidates who had obtained an E aggregate in matric.

There was not a 100% pass rate for the bursary students who had obtained a matric A aggregate.

One of the 28 A aggregate students failed his first year.

Some 79% of the first-year students who had obtained a B matric aggregate passed, 79% with a C matric aggregate were successful, while 73% with a D aggregate advanced to their second year.

Coggin said the results underscored the institute's policy of maintaining close contact with its bursars, of providing counselling services and of allowing a bridging year, where necessary, for students who had been disadvantaged under the educational system.

The pass rate compared favourably with that of other major SA universities, he said.

In several cases the pass rate was much higher.

Selecting only about 400 students out of more than 40 000 applications each year was a heart-rending task — made more difficult by the knowledge that the Department of Education and Training examinations left much to be desired, Coggin said.

NEW COMPANY INVESTMENT
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ficult to make

Record toll of deaths feared

By Kaizer Nyatsumba

The wave of black-on-black violence currently sweeping across the country was at its highest peak yet, South African Institute of Race Relations executive director Mr John Kane-Berman said yesterday.

The violence was no longer restricted to Natal, he said, but was occurring throughout the country.

Mr Kane-Berman pointed out that if the violence continued at its present level, it could claim nearly 4 000 lives this year alone, against last year's record number of 1 403 deaths.

He said fatalities in the first three months of 1990 ranged between an official total of 574 and a higher total of 966 based on information supplied by monitoring groups.

Compared with the first three months of last year, violence-related fatalities outside Natal, as well as fatalities involving the security forces, had increased more than 10 times.

Deaths in security force action outside Natal accounted for about a third of the fatalities.

Mr Kane-Berman said there was also a major increase in the number of fatalities in the independent homelands.

While there were no violence-related deaths in these homelands in the first three months of last year, there were 53 such deaths in the same period this year.

The striking feature of the violence, he said, was its spread out side Natal, where at least 28 percent of the fatalities in the first three months of this year had occurred.

While political fatalities outside Natal totalled 124 in 1989, there were already 271 in the first quarter of this year alone.

"In January, there were 26 fatalities in the three other provinces. This number doubled in February, and then the February figure almost quadrupled in March."

The conflict between Inkatha and the United Democratic Front and its allies was just one of the causes of the violence.

The UDF camp was also involved in conflicts with black consciousness groups in Natal and on the Reef, and with Africanists in the Eastern Cape, Mr Kane-Berman said.

Chief Justice to deliver Hoernle lecture

Star 7/5/90 305

By Kaizer Nyatsumba

The Chief Justice of South Africa, Mr Justice M M Corbett, will deliver the South African Institute of Race Relations' Diamond Jubilee Hoernle Memorial Lecture in Johannesburg tonight.

Mr Justice Corbett will be one of many distinguished South Africans who have delivered the institute's annual Hoernle Memorial Lecture. The inaugural lecture was given by Mr J H Hofmeyr in 1945. Other speakers have included Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi and author Alan Paton.

Mr Justice Corbett, whose lecture falls on the institute's 60th year of existence, will speak on "Guaranteeing Fundamental Freedoms in a New South Africa".

The lectures honour Professor R F Alfred Hoernle, who was a controversial man before his death in 1943. Though he rejected segregation as an "instrument of domination" and believed racism was "a disease of society", his subtle and exploratory social analyses, according to the institute's Ms Jill Wentzel, lent themselves to "misinterpretation by whoever wishes to do so".

Although Professor Hoernle was respected by most of his contemporaries, who viewed him as the leading liberal in South Africa, he was attacked vehemently by several prominent men of the day such as Mr Martin Legassick and Mr Paul Rich, who accused him of "fuelling the segregationist ideology", according to Ms Wentzel.

A founder and former president of the SAIRR, Professor Hoernle was born in Bonn in 1880. He was educated in Saxony and at Oxford, and came to SA aged 28 to take up the post of professor of philosophy at the then South African College.

From 1911 to 1923 Professor Hoernle lectured at universities in Britain and the United States. On his return to SA he was appointed professor of philosophy at the University of the Witwatersrand where his wife, Winifred, was appointed senior lecturer in social anthropology.

Ms Phyllis Lewsen, Professor Hoernle's former student who later became his colleague at both Wits and the SAIRR, was full of praise for the late academic.

A former history associate professor at Wits, Ms Lewsen — who is now an honorary research Fellow in the department — has written a number of articles and books, including the much-acclaimed "Voices of Protest" which records the role liberals have played in South Africa.

Ms Lewsen told The Star last week: "Professor Hoernle was a very strong man and a good fighter. He was the kind of man to whom everyone would talk. In those days he had the ears of very influential men."

More bursaries awarded

Sowetan 15/7/90

The South African Institute of Race Relations has awarded more new bursaries than it had previously anticipated and also doubled the number of technikon awards this year.

The deputy director of the Institute, Mr Theo Coggin, said that a record number of 42 975 application forms were sent to aspirant students who had hoped to receive bursaries for 1990.

He said this was an increase of almost 5,5 percent compared to the number of application forms despatched the previous year.

The number of new bursaries awarded this year comes to 395. This brings the total number of bursaries administered by the Institute to 917, when renewals are also counted. A total of 91 more new bursaries were awarded than previously anticipated.

According to Coggin, the significant feature of this year's awards was the big increase in awards made to technikon students. He said it was also important to note that the number of new bursaries awarded to students at teacher training colleges had also increased.

"We have almost doubled the number of awards made to technikon students. This is in keeping with the Institute's belief that we must provide funds that will enable students to receive training in as many varied fields as possible, particularly in the science, engineering, technical and related fields.

"A developing South Africa is going to require more people with such skills if our infrastructure is to be maintaned and developed," he said.

When will the killing end?

stw 15/5/90

Some enjoy the violence, others are settling scores

Figures released by the South African Institute of Race Relations recently indicate that political violence could claim as many as 4 000 lives this year alone. KAIZER NYATSUMBA took a look at the implications of the violence.

Will black-on-black violence ever end? Is it, perhaps, a sign of the existence of a culture of political intolerance in the townships?

Academics and some leaders of these organisations agree that political intolerance, the failure to recognise and honour the right of other political organisations to exist and compete for membership is one of the reasons for violence.

The secretary-general of Inkatha and kwaZulu Education and Culture Minister, Dr Oscar Dhlomo, said there was a great need for anti-apartheid organisations to instil discipline in their members and embark on a rigorous political education. If this was not done now, a lot of violence was likely to occur in the future when these organisations had to fight open elections for a constituent assembly.

Dr Dhlomo said there was a great need in Natal for Chief Buthelezi and Mr Mandela "to meet and be seen to be meeting to address the situation", since this could have an immense psychological impact on the people in the area, and they might stop fighting.

It did not help, he said, for the two organisations each to have their own peace committees, but there was a great need for them to "establish co-operation among the people on the ground".

It was also important, he said, for the security police to be deployed to the violence-torn townships in big numbers to attend to both the violence and criminal element.

The former vice-president of the United Democratic Front (UDF) in the Eastern Cape and current president of the Port Elizabeth People's Civic Organisation, Mr Henry Fazzie, said the violence "will certainly stop". All that was needed was for the leaders to step up their efforts.

This, however, would not be easy to do "because there are some elements who enjoy the violence and have their own agendas".

Mr Fazzie said in some areas outside Natal the perpetrators of the violence were people opposed to negotiations and were using the violence to voice their opposition.

"Unfortunately for them," he said, "negotiations will succeed. The ANC is so powerful that nothing will stop it from negotiating."

The chairman of the internal wing of the ANC, Mr Walter Sisulu, was equally confident that the violence would "eventually stop". Its causes, he said, were more than just mere political intolerance, but there were many other elements as well.

On the lack of political tolerance Mr Sisulu said: "There has never been a complete hostility between our organisations, although we do differ on a few things.

"However, there seem to be individuals in our organisations who are not disciplined, but there is tolerance of political differences and the recognition of the right of other organisations to exist."

Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) president Mr Zephania Mothopeng was emphatic. The violence could have long ago come to an end if leaders of the organisations involved in it "handled it properly".

"If the violence does not end, then it means that those who are involved in it are not handling it well. It can be stopped within days or weeks. If the people whose constituencies are fighting each other can handle the situation well, it can definitely end.

"I don't even know why they have not ended it yet," Mr Mothopeng added.

The publicity secretary of the Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo), Mr Strini Moodley, said his organisation was vehemently opposed to black-on-black violence, which was counter-productive and against Azapo's philosophy.

Azapo had always tried to end the violence "first and foremost because it is directed mainly at inno cent people, and secondly because many of our own members have been attacked and killed".

It was for this reason that Azapo had met Mr Mandela and had established an interim committee, made up of Mr Mandela and Azapo president Dr Itumeleng Masala, to look at ways of ending the violence as it occurred.

"We are proud to say that members of the Black Consciousness Movement have never gone on a rampage to attack anybody anywhere in the country.

"We were the first organisation to condemn necklacing.

"The only position we take is that we will not allow anybody to attempt to kill our members without their defending themselves," Mr Strini said.

A political science lecturer at the University of South Africa, Mr Clive Napier, predicted the violence in Natal "might decrease somewhat" with the presence of the South African Defence Force, but would not be totally wiped out.

"There is a great deal of historical antagonism and a great need for retribution for past injustices.

"My view is that the violence will decline appreciably only when illegitimate apartheid structures have been dismantled and democratic structures have been put in place," said Mr Napier.

The unbanning of political organisations on February 2, he said, made these organisations compete for membership openly for the first time, and this contributed to the violence in several black townships outside Natal.

On the question of political intolerance, Mr Napier said although "seeds of democracy" were present in South African society, there was still a need for the recognition of other people's rights to belong to any organisations of their choice, and for those organisations to exist.

In Natal, he said, it was more a question of intolerance towards people working in "apartheid structures" which had fuelled the violence.

Mr Napier said violence would be minimal during elections "if the settlement is negotiated by credible leaders, and the people are genuinely happy with the outcome of the negotiating process".

The head of the political studies department at the University of the Witwatersrand, Professor Alf Stadler, said the violence was symptomatic of the fundamental changes taking place in the country.

The end of colonial rule was usually marked by violence which was directed not only at the rulers, but also at innocent members of the community.

Said Professor Stadler: "I don't think political tolerance exists — I wish it did. We in South Africa in general do not respect the idea of other people's right to hold strongly divergent views and to belong to different political organisations.

There is evidence that certain parts of the Mass Democratic Movement are intolerant of political opposition.

"Political tolerance is, sadly, not a strong feature of our country," he added.

Metro RSCs spend more in townships — report

Star 4/7/90 305 308

By Kaizer Nyatsumba, Political Staff

The majority of regional services councils in metropolitan areas in the Transvaal are spending most of their levy income on upgrading black areas.

This is according to South African Institute of Race Relations (SAIRR) researcher Mauritz Moolman, who concludes his study of regional services councils (RSCs) with the observation that the important outcome of the existence of RSCs was the fact that whites were growing aware of the glaring disparities between their communities and the townships around them.

In "From Town to Township: Regional Services Councils Assessed", a booklet published by the institute, Mr Moolman said although there was evidence that RSCs in rural areas spent most of their income on white areas and not in the black areas where there was a greater need, the priority of RSCs in metropolitan areas in the Transvaal was upgrading black areas.

"The councils are likely to make an impact on the development of black townships and are providing funds to black local authorities.

"An important consequence of the establishment of RSCs is that white municipal politicians in several areas are, for the first time, becoming aware of the disparity in the quality of life between their areas and those inhabited by black township dwellers," said Mr Moolman.

Loan funds

However, he said it was unlikely that RSCs, which were constrained by limited income and their limited access to loan funds, would be able to eliminate the huge backlogs in the townships.

Some RSCs were considering addressing an expected funding shortage by raising levies or tariffs.

"If tariffs rise sharply in white areas to subsidise black ones, the result could be a conservative backlash," Mr Moolman warned.

He said since RSCs could not provide townships with the revenue which the lack of a tax base had denied them, they could not make black areas economically viable.

On the political level, Mr Moolman said, the RSCs had done little to achieve their stated aim of giving blacks "a significant say in decisions". These institutions were still run by whites and political decisions were made "exclusively by whites too".

Mr Moolman concluded: "RSCs are a partial acknowledgement that rigid racial segregation in local government is untenable.

"While the alternative they represent — a white-controlled system in which essential elements of segregration are retained and, in theory, strengthened — cannot ensure a workable township local government system, RSCs may well create new momentum for further movement away from segregated municipal structures."

More jobs in free market, says judge

Sowetan 26/7/90

305

ONLY a free market economy will provide equitable redistribution of the country's wealth, says the Chief Justice Mr MM Corbett.

By ISMAIL LAGARDIEN

In a publication released recently by the South African Institute of Race relations, Corbett said that such a system would grow fast enough to create enough jobs and suggested that socialism was inadequate in this regard.

Referring to Eastern Europe, he said those countries proved that under socialism, the rich became poor and the poor poorer.

Corbett added that economic stagnation, poverty, hopelessness and unhappiness had been the hallmarks of socialism.

In terms of this argument, Corbett said: "What the new South Africa needs is not socialism, but an enlightened form of the free market system, which ensures economic growth instead of stagnation, efficiency instead of incompetence, the creation of new wealth instead of impoverishment."

All of this he believes: "Stimulates and harnesses all the creativeness, inventive genius, and spirit of enterprise which is to be found in the human race."

Corbett contends that only by means of the free market can the economy of the new South Africa grow sufficiently to create the jobs needed to provide the population with employment, economic security and domestic stability.

However, he said, "a goodly portion" of the wealth created by the free market should be ploughed back into society.

This would be for the upliftment of communities, the creation of minimum standards of living, the encouragement of entrepreneurship, education, housing, recreation and in general "redressing the social imbalances inherited from the past".

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Size of black taxi market 'exaggerated'

By Kaizer Nyatsumba

The scale of the minibus taxi industry has been exaggerated, says Colleen McCaul of the SA Institute of Race Relations.

In a book on the black taxi industry, "No Easy Ride", Ms McCaul said that although the minibus taxis' share of the black commuter market had rocketed from virtually zero to the single largest, their numbers had been greatly exaggerated.

Research showed the number of minibus taxis was about half the often-quoted figure of 100 000.

Ms McCaul challenged the Southern Africa Black Taxi Association's claims that almost half the taxis on the road were owned by whites. The real figure was likely to be 14 percent at most.

About 625 000 blacks travelled to work in taxis daily, and taxis had played a big role in reducing black commuters' travelling time from almost three hours a day in 1984 to two hours last year.

Shack settlements loom as vision of our urban future

Political Staff

Shack settlements were undoubtedly going to be the future urban African towns and cities if the Government did not revert to its former policy of providing rented homes to the poor.

This is the view of South African Institute of Race Relations senior researcher Harry Mashabela.

In a book entitled "Mekhukhu: Urban African Cities of the Future" and published by the institute, Mr Mashabela said shanty towns were increasing at an alarming rate countrywide.

"It is important that the wider community identifies itself with the desperate shack dwellers if we are to attempt to resolve the problem of homelessness," he writes.

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an average of 50 deaths a day, w
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'End violence with peace demos'

305 Star 24/8/90

By Kaizer Nyatsumba, Political Staff

The president of the South African Institute of Race Relations, the Rev Stanley Mogoba, yesterday called for a national peace summit involving all the major organisations involved in the ongoing violence in the country, and offered to act in the role of a facilitator in order to bring conflicting parties together.

Delivering his annual presidential address in Johannesburg last night, Dr Mogoba said a common vision of a newly reconstructed South Africa which would be "a powerful force in bringing about unity and harmony" was needed.

A peace summit, to be attended by all organisations implicated in the endemic violence which had claimed hundreds of lives since it started in Natal more than four years ago, would have to be followed up by demonstrations of peace by these organisations' leaders.

They would have to address mass meetings jointly in the country's major metropolitan centres.

Dr Mogoba said there were those who did not want to see blacks talking to each other, arguing that "unpardonable sins have been committed by the parties in the dispute".



The Rev Stanley Mogoba.

This, he said, was not the way to make peace.

Negotiations were necessary to terminate a dispute for the very reason that the parties in the dispute did not agree, were not friends and had been locked in mutual combat.

"I suggest that what we need are thousands of ANC, Inkatha, PAC and Azapo marshals to be seen acting together in a disciplined fashion in the streets," said Dr Mogoba.

The SAIRR president also warned that the violence in the country could become unstoppable if nothing were done soon. This could cause political reform to grind to a halt.

Dr Mogoba said it appeared there was a small minority of people stirring up ideological or tribal animosities.

They then stood back to watch the results of their machinations with glee.

It was difficult to see how anybody could derive satisfaction from "such demonic exercises".

Dr Mogoba also praised President de Klerk for his courage. He said Mr de Klerk had risked losing his temporal power in the knowledge that he would never cease to be a spiritual leader, "which is stronger than any force of arms".

Suzman to head Institute

ST Times 26/8/90

305

Sunday Times Reporter

HUMAN rights campaigner Helen Suzman was yesterday elected president of the South African Institute of Race Relations.

Mrs Suzman, who was MP for Houghton for 36 years, has a long-standing relationship with the institute which goes back to when she was asked by the Smuts Government, shortly after World War 2, to investigate the migrant labour system and the permanence of black people in towns.

After her unanimous election yesterday, Mrs Suzman said it was a strange coincidence that she was reviving her close relationship with the institute at a time when the evils of the migrancy system and hostels were evident in the township violence on the Reef.

She succeeds the head of the Methodist Church of Southern Africa, Dr Stanley Mogoba, who will remain on as one of four vice-presidents.

Suzman to head institute

Bpam • Business Day Reporter 27/8/90

VETERAN opposition politician Helen Suzman was on Friday elected president of the SA Institute of Race Relations (SAIRR). She succeeds the Rev Stanley Mogoba. (305)

Suzman has been involved with the institute since the late 1940s, when she was asked to write a report on the Fagan Commission, which the Smuts government established to investigate the permanance of blacks in urban areas and the migrant labour system.

She said she was happy to be closely associated again with the institute, where her political awareness was first aroused.

October 1 1990

'5 obstacles to multiparty democracy'

Star 1/10/90 (305)

By Clyde Johnson, Lowveld Bureau

NELSPRUIT — Disturbing tendencies from within and abroad are preventing South Africa from heading for a multiparty democracy, says SA Institute of Race Relations executive director John Kane-Berman.

Addressing about 3 000 delegates at the Inyanza National Movement's 12th annual congress at the local showgrounds, Mr Kane-Berman referred to the tendencies as "political monopolism".

Defining political monopolism as a considered exclusive right for a single organisation to speak on behalf of all South Africa's blacks, he said he considered it "the new political spectre" haunting the country.

Two-sided

There were, he said, already five such tendencies:

- An ever-increasing use of totalitarian language.
- Totalitarian demands.
- Totalitarian behaviour.
- Political monopolism.
- International bias with regard to funding.

"One hears of the 'will of the people' as though all 36 million of us in South Africa had just one will.

"We also hear of the ANC's two-sided negotiating table — the Government on the one side and the ANC and its allies on the other. Excluded is the possibility that black or white political parties may also want to sit at the negotiating tables independent of the Government and the ANC," he said.

Political monopolism, he added, appeased intolerance on the Left.

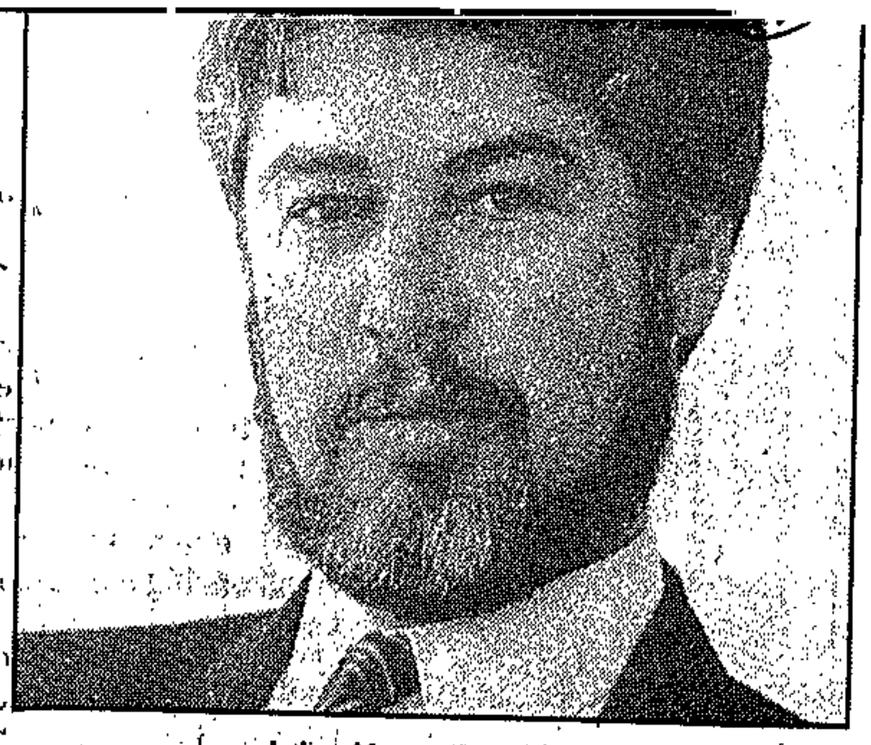
"Liberal newspapers, for instance, appear to be more concerned about right-wing hit squads than about the number of people executed by necklacing," Mr Kane-Berman said.

The promotion of political monopolism with regard to international funding also gave reason for concern.

"Looking at the Japanese government and the European Community in Brussels, you will find that little of the money put into this country goes to causes which are not 'mass democratic' in their orientation.

"Foreign governments routinely say that South Africans have a right to determine their own future, but some of them use their money to promote only one black political tendency," he said.

Mr Kane-Berman warned of a new problem looming for South Africa. The old black-white divide would be likely to be replaced by a divide between white people plus urbanised, unionised, employed, degreed, educated, housed black people in the cities on the one hand and rural people with no access to land, illiterate, no housing, no education and very little opportunity on the other.



John Kane-Berman

ANC, Govt 'don't have a winning hand'

BLOEMFONTEIN — There was no way that the future of South Africa could be settled by some kind of bilateral deal between the South African Government and the ANC, John Kane-Berman, executive director of the SA Institute of Race Relations told the Ladies 100 Club in Bloemfontein this week.

Mr Kane-Berman said a "winning hand" was not a bilateral deal but a tripartite one between the Government, the ANC and Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

Other black movements would then find it difficult to stay outside the negotiation process.

This would have a beneficial effect in white politics.

Painful

"If Buthelezi and other black people are there, many people on the Right will have their fears reduced," said Mr Kane-Berman.

The New South Africa was going to be "a lot more painful" than eight to nine months ago, but the plus factors had to be emphasised.

These included that the Soviet Union was now in favour of negotiated solutions. But for the fact that there had been a major change in domestic politics in the Soviet Union, Nelson Mandela would still be in prison.

The collapse of the communist monopolies undermined their credibility locally, while Africa was also recognising the folly of one-party socialist systems.

Sanctions were being eroded and President de Klerk had made "astronomical, breath-taking" breakthroughs in the international scene.

New plus factors in domestic politics were the increased realisation in the Conservative Party that its previous policies were unworkable and unsaleable.

"We can actually change society non-violently if we wish," he said.

Earlier Mr Kane-Berman had accused the South African press of "not doing its job properly". The public was not getting a true reflection of the degree of destabilisation going on in the black townships.

His figures, based on police reports, showed a 400 percent increase in attacks on black policemen and councillors from January to July.

He did not know whether the Government could get the ANC to give up its mass mobilisation policy.

Sanctions were not a major threat and the armed struggle was never a potent instrument, he said. — Sapa.

STAR
25/10/90

SA's marathon of violence

Violence, largely in townships, has claimed 10 lives a day this year. HELEN GRANGE reports on the causes and possible solutions.

SOUTH Africa's political reform, which began with the State President's February 2 watershed announcements, has brought with it an unprecedented marathon of violence.

The latest political death toll statistics, released by the Institute of Race Relations, put the count of fatalities at a shocking average of nearly 10 a day. Some 3 038 people died in political violence in the first 10 months of this year.

Although there was a relative lull after the carnage on the Reef which broke out in August, township massacres are again making headlines.

The reasons for the original spate of killings — and its subsequent continuation — are many. The solution to the problem seems no less complex.

According to Lloyd Vogelman, director of the Project on the Study of Violence at Wits University, various factors have contributed to the continuation of mass violence.

"The original rash of killings, which claimed about 50 lives a day at the end of August, created immense resentment and frustration. The result is a higher potential for further violence.

"With large-scale violence, there is a general breakdown in law and order — and a lack of confidence in the police. Individuals become more confident of their ability to take the law into their own hands and the fear of punishment is diminished," he said.

There was also a decrease in the reporting of specific incidences of violence and thus less potential for prosecution.

Another factor was the heightened sense of expectation among certain groups, which had still not been met.

"Certain groups are experiencing frustration because of their perception of others benefiting from the improved political situation. In these communities, violence becomes a quick and acceptable form of resolution," Mr Vogelman said.

Access to firearms — licenced and unlicenced — had had a further significant influence on fatalities. Informal trading of firearms in the townships was rife, and automatic weapons were used in many offences.

In the South African political scenario, there was no history of democratic institutionalisation of violence — through parliament and the courts. There was little confidence in these institutions among blacks.

Mr Vogelman said this lack of institutionalisation was also experienced among black political organisations like the ANC. While the ANC had enormous popular support, it was weak in terms of local grassroots structures. Individuals developed their own sense of power and the situation became anarchic.

Police have attributed recent high fatality rates to black-on-black conflict, which began in earnest since the reform process started.

Captain Craig Kotze, spokesman for the Ministry of Law and Order, said that prior to February 2, violence was directed largely against the State. "Security force action accounted for a large number of deaths, but that has changed.

"There is no need for the State to defend itself now, and hence the drop in security force induced casualties. There is now a jockeying for position between black organisations on the political chessboard.

The only remedy is for these groupings to talk out their political differences, he said.

Captain Kotze said the police faced a real difficulty in administering law and order in the face of such large-scale violence. "When groupings of people attack their enemies, even the largest law enforcement organisation is hard put to stop the killings."

Statistics from the Human Rights Commission show that security force action has accounted for fewer and fewer violent incidents in recent months.

In July there were 147 police actions and 72 "vigilante" actions (actions by political or tribal groups). In August, there were 102 police actions and 90 vigilante actions. By September, combined SADF and police actions counted 69 as against 72 vigilante actions.

Last month, there were 44 combined police and SADF actions and 55 vigilante actions.

However, the Human Rights Commission maintains that hit-squad action is a factor in the violence, despite findings in recent commissions of inquiry that hit squads do not exist.

Right-wing violent activity was also on the increase. □

Cops, councillors the target

CIPRes 9/12/90 305

Attacks on police not reported, says SAIRR

BLACK town councillors and policemen have been a major focus of violent attacks this year, the South African Institute of Race Relations (SAIRR) said in its latest report released in Johannesburg this week.

It said at least 22 policemen and six councillors had died in "first-strike" violent attacks in the first seven months of the year.

Although the number of fatalities was relatively low, an average of two attacks on black councillors and policemen were mounted daily.

The SAIRR said it had counted at least 409 attacks on the persons or property of black councillors and policemen between the beginning of the year and the end of July.

These included 87 attacks on the homes of black councillors and 222 attacks on the homes of black policemen. Most of the attacks involved petrol bombs or other forms of arson and hand grenades.

There had been a particularly dramatic escalation in attacks on black councillors and policemen between February and March, the SAIRR said.

At least 402 black councillors had resigned to date, in most cases giving intimidation as the reason, and black local authorities were operating with only two-thirds of their seats filled.

At least one councillor had been necklaced, while one off-duty policeman had been condemned by a "people's court" and had died after being sentenced and stabbed 45 times.

Two-thirds of the 409 violent attacks on black policemen and councillors had not been reported in any of the Johannesburg English daily newspapers, the SAIRR said.

In an editorial in July, The Star noted that property had been damaged when the home of a white Johannesburg councillor was bombed, but the newspaper nevertheless condemned the attack as an act of "terrorism".

The SAIRR however could find no equivalent condemnation by Star editorials of attacks on black town councillors, even though these resulted not only in damage of property but also in injury and death.

In the last few months, it said, there had been several articles in various newspapers purporting to give the background to councillors' resignations.

"These articles referred to allegations of corruption, the lack of legitimacy of the black local authority system, and the parlous financial situation of the townships under their jurisdiction.

"Many articles said 'pressure' caused councillors to resign. Quite a number failed to mention that this pressure has frequently been so violent that the term 'pressure' is a euphemism."

Several groups in SA, the SAIRR added, were involved in monitoring unrest and violations of human rights.

Six such groups contacted by the SAIRR kept track of at least one category of police malpractice.

But none recorded attacks on councillors or police or their spouses or children in their reports.

The SAIRR further said it was well aware of the major shortcomings of the black local authority system and that it was equally aware of violent behaviour on the part of the police.

It added: "Our continuing investigations into political violence have, however, convinced us that councillors and policemen are themselves very often the targets of violent attack. The extent to which this is occurring has been inadequately reported in the media." – Sapa

Political comment and newsbills by K Sibiya, headline and sub-editing by K Naidoo, both of 2 Herb Street, New Doornfontein, Johannesburg.

Attacks on councillors, police mount steadily

Sowetan 10/12/90

BLACK town councillors and policemen have been a major focus of violent attack this year, the South African Institute of Race Relations says in its latest report.

FOCUS

The report, released in Johannesburg on Thursday, said at least 22 policemen and six councillors had died in "first-strike" violent attacks in the first seven months of the year.

Although the number of fatalities was relatively low, an average of two attacks on black councillors and policemen were being mounted daily.

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Necklaced

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Two-thirds of the 409 violent attacks on black policemen and councillors had not been reported in any of the Johannesburg English daily newspapers, it added.

"The average Johannesburg newspaper reader was thus not made aware of two out of every three violent incidents directed at councillors and policemen.

"Nor did this violence appear to have attracted any adverse editorial comment, with the exception of two leading articles."

In an editorial in July, one newspaper noted that only property had been damaged when the home of a white Johannesburg councillor was bombed, but the newspaper nevertheless condemned the attack as an act of "terrorism".

The SAIRR, however, could find no equivalent condemnation in that paper's editorials of attacks on black town councillors, even though these resulted not only in damage of property but also in injury and death.

In the last few months, it said, there had been several articles in various newspapers purporting to give the background to councillors' resignations.

"These articles have referred to allegations of corruption, the lack of legitimacy of the black local authority system, and the parlous financial situation of the townships under their jurisdiction.

'Pressure'

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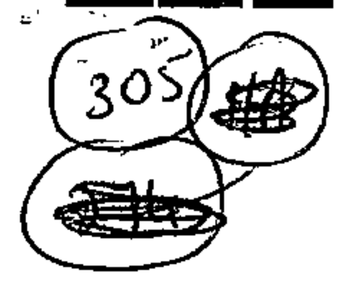
Councillor Don Mmesi ...gunned down.

The SAIRR said it was well aware of the major shortcomings of the black local authority system and that it was equally aware of violent behaviour on the part of the police.

"Our continuing investigations into political violence have, however, convinced us that councillors and policemen are themselves very often the targets of violent attack. The extent to which this is occurring has been inadequately reported in the media."- *Sapa*

ANC accused in police killings

ST Times 16/12/90



THE ANC is clearly implicated in a campaign of murder and violence against black town councillors and policemen in a study of violence released by the SA Institute of Race Relations this week.

The report said 409 incidents and attacks on councillors and policemen from Junuary to July this year resulted in the deaths of six councillors and 22 off-duty policemen.

Because of the difficulty in determining motives for attacks on on-duty policemen, these were excluded from the study.

After assessing the roles and motives of different political organisations, the institute's report said:

"The ANC appears to be the only major grouping explicitly and purposely working for the destruction of black local authorities."

It also said that the ANC — more than any other political party — had demonstrated its capacity for significantly raising the nationwide level of violence.

By LESTER VENTER
Political Correspondent

These were among the elements identified in the campaign of violence:

- Councillors were attacked within days after the first black local authority elections in 1983;
- Attacks on certain councillors ceased after their resignations.

Claims

The report said "this suggests that the violence aimed at these municipal officials stems not so much from community disenchantment with the manner in which their duties have been performed, but that the violence is part of broader campaign aimed at rendering the townships ungovernable and introducing new, alternative local structures".

The report quoted from the ANC's official mouthpiece, Sechaba, and noted that Umkhonto we Sizwe, the military wing of the ANC, claimed responsibility for specific attacks.

The report dismissed claims by the Pan Africanist Congress that it was responsible for a great number of the attacks.

The report's author, Wayne Safro, said that according to the PAC's own definition of targets and methods, the PAC could be held responsible for at most six percent of the more than 400 attacks recorded in the six months covered by the report.

The report also contained disturbing evidence of a lack of attention paid to the attacks by the media.

In the month when the greatest number of incidents took place — 99 in March — only 33 percent of them were reported in either the Star, the Citizen, Business Day, The Sunday Times, the Weekly Mail or the Sowetan.

Overall, only 38 percent of attacks on councillors or policemen were reported at all in the six-month period.

Apart from the six councillors killed, 87 had had their homes burned, stoned or had hand-grenades thrown at them, while 24 council offices were damaged.

By October 16 this year, 132 councillors out of 692 in the Transvaal had resigned, citing intimidation as their reason for doing so.

In the Cape, 150 out of 636 resigned for the same reason; 119 out of 436 quit in the Free State, and one out of 104 in Natal (outside of KwaZulu).

This means black local authorities were running at 67 percent of their potential by mid-October, said the report.

Threats

Black local authorities were further threatened by the Civic Association of the Southern Transvaal (CAST) which had committed itself to their destruction.

Of the 409 recorded attacks, 111 were on councillors and 287 were on black policemen.

Insufficient evidence regarding the target of attack occurred in 11 cases.

Arson and petrol bombing were the most common form of attack — in 189 of the cases. Stoning accounted for 120 cases.

Hand-grenades were used in 45 attacks and shootings accounted for 26 others.

Violence article: SAIRR objects

8fw 17/12/90

305

The article in The Star of December 11: "Row over statistics on political violence" is misleading and disingenuous.

The article refers to a statement issued by the South African Institute of Race Relations on December 6. It quotes but two sentences from that statement.

Your Political Reporter then devotes most of the remainder of her article to giving a platform to the Human Rights Commission (HRC) to provide what purports to be answers.

Yet you have not done the Institute the courtesy, or your readers the service, of publishing our statement. Had you published it, your readers would have been able to see that the supposed answers to our criticisms are largely irrelevant.

We noted that in its report for July, the HRC attributed to "vigilantes" at least three deaths where the attackers were "unknown" or "unidentified". By what process of reasoning does an "unidentified" attacker become a "vigilante"?

We referred to another 35 deaths attributed by the HRC to vigilantes, yet the HRC report gives no information as to who caused these deaths; when our researcher telephoned the HRC to find out if it had any information about them, we were told not. The HRC's attribution of these 35 deaths to vigilantes is accordingly nothing more than supposition.

If these 35 deaths are added to the three at the hands of unknown attackers, it is clear at least a third of the 111 HRC attributions of July deaths to vigilantes are without foundation in fact.

This amply justifies the Institute's statement that the HRC is exaggerating the extent of vigilante violence.

The Star is itself party to this exaggeration. Our statement referred to a graph that you published on December 4 and which purported to show the causes of such deaths from July to the end of November. But the graph listed only two causes of violent death: vigilantes and police.

Our press statement concluded: "The impression is thus created that in the last five months, vigilantes and police were responsible for all violent deaths since the graph makes no mention of any others."

This impression is grossly misleading. We commend you for your editorial on December 10 rectifying your newspaper's previous failure to commemn the murders of black town councillors, to which we also drew attention last week. We look forward to your correcting the misleading impression you have helped create about the extent of vigilante violence.

J S Kane-Berman
Executive Director,
South African Institute of
Race Relations
Johannesburg

● *Mr Kane-Berman's argument is with the HRC, and The Star does not accept it is party to exaggeration — if indeed there is any in the HRC statistics — by first reporting the HRC analysis and then by recording its defence against Mr Kane-Berman's challenge of those statistics. — Editor.*



HELEN Suzman's outspoken views in defence of a just system know few bounds. This became clear when she had some tough things to say about black political leaders, among others.

For many, her expression of dismay at the lack of leadership displayed by black leaders will sound mild criticism compared with the tongue lashings she gave successive ministers of justice in her demands to have these very leaders released from the restrictions placed on them by successive National Party governments.

Hansard abounds with speeches and questions from this uncompromising defender of human rights, fighting for improved conditions in prisons, for the release of detainees, and the unbanning of such organisations as the African National Congress and the Pan-Africanist Congress.

Helen Suzman has always believed in giving credit where it is due and criticism when it is warranted.

SO, sitting in her moderately sized study in her home in Sandton, surrounded by shelves of bound volumes of Hansard, books and memorabilia from all over the world, as well as family photographs, Mrs Suzman has pertinent advice for black leaders like Nelson Mandela.

"My conviction is that if Mr Mandela spent more time with his own people in his own country and less time abroad it might have been possible for him to stem the violence in the townships."

But her attention is focused not only on Mr Mandela. Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi also comes in for due consideration from Mrs Suzman. She believes he could have "stopped the violence in Natal when it started some years ago if he had put his mind to it. Now it may be too late."

MRS SUZMAN has a somewhat pessimistic view of the immediate future. She doubts, for example, that total control can be imposed by anybody in the townships while large-scale unemployment continues and so many young people are not gainfully occupied.

The question of black education disturbs her greatly "because it appears that teachers and parents have lost control of the situation while the children themselves have rejected discipline of any kind".

However depressing the situation, Mrs Suzman has no doubt that the system she fought all her life had to be changed. But no one, not even President F W de Klerk, could have foreseen the level of violence that has occurred this year.

Yet the period of transition had to come and Mrs Suzman says: "I can assume only that Mr De Klerk realised that the cost in political and economic terms had simply become too great."

BLACK resistance had also become an issue, as well as a realisation that the changes occurring in Eastern Europe meant he could not use the excuse of the "total onslaught" threat.

Mrs Suzman is also convinced of the President's sincerity: "He'd have to be a very good actor to come across the way he does if he did not mean it."

There is no rancour in Mrs Suzman as she reflects on the changes of the past few months.

"I want to make it clear that I do not care who makes the changes or does the work. What is important is that it happens."

Nevertheless, the frightful scenes of the past few months have shown how easy it is for activists to take over if the great mass of people, the silent majority, allow them to do so, she says.

It is in this climate that the South African Institute of Race Relations still has an important role to play.

IT is one of the few objective institutions in the country, Mrs Suzman believes. All others seem to have a loyalty to one side or the other, whereas the institute has gained international respect "for the factual accuracy with which it reports developments in South Africa in such publications as the *Survey*, *RR News*, *Countdown* and *Update*".

"We need a steady eye to assess the situation without the emotionalism attached to issues such as that of returning exiles, or the almost sycophantic pursuit of some of the black leaders, who are given platforms to use without there being any discernment of the way in which they may abuse the privilege of being given a platform."

Helen Suzman's contact with the institute goes back to the mid-1940s when she served on its committees with such people as Rheinalt Jones, Ellen Hellmann, Leo Marquard, Z K Matthews, Edgar Brookes and Bernard Friedman.

THE institute's critical role in fighting for universally recognised human rights has not changed since those early days. One of its strengths, Mrs Suzman believes, is that it is not identified with any particular political party.

"This is what gives it its objectivity. It criticises the government and has done so for many years. But, should it occasionally throw a word or praise the government's way, it is not being disloyal to any other political party."

Of her parliamentary days, Mrs Suzman says that the most demanding years were those as the solitary Progressive Party member in the House of Assembly. Yet she did not find the experience intimidating, even though she clashed bitterly with prime ministers H F Verwoerd and John Vorster (the latter also when he was minister of justice) and with Jimmy Kruger as minister of justice. She recalls how she was treated with great fairness by the Speaker.

SHE recalls, too, that the 1960s were a fertile period for the number of new bills, amendments to acts — such as the Group Areas Act and the Bantu (Urban Areas) Consolidation Act — and laws that eroded civil liberties. As the lone Progressive Party member she found herself having to prepare speeches on a variety of subjects.

Because of various mergers during her political career, Helen Suzman represented five political parties. Throughout all the changes, however, she remained the MP for Houghton, beginning as a member of the United Party and ending as a representative of the Democratic Party.

She is forthright about the Democratic Party.

"I have no empathy with the Democratic Party really. Many of the original Progs, such as Ray Swart and Clive van Ryneveld, are no longer on the political scene and Jannie Steytler has died.

"WITH the exception of people like Colin Eglin, Zach de Beer and Peter Soal, I have no real relationship with the newcomers who are late arrivals on the scene. This is simply because I cannot get over the fact that so many of them remained with the National Party during the worst years. They remained with them at the times of the forced removals and detention without trial. It took a long time for them to shed their old skins.

"But I do not impugn their sincerity; indeed, many converts will be more enthusiastic than the original members."

Despite her longing to "sink without trace", Helen Suzman will remain on the political scene for many years as the wisdom and experience gained during her 36 years in parliament are drawn on by the institute, journalists, diplomats and interest groups throughout the world.

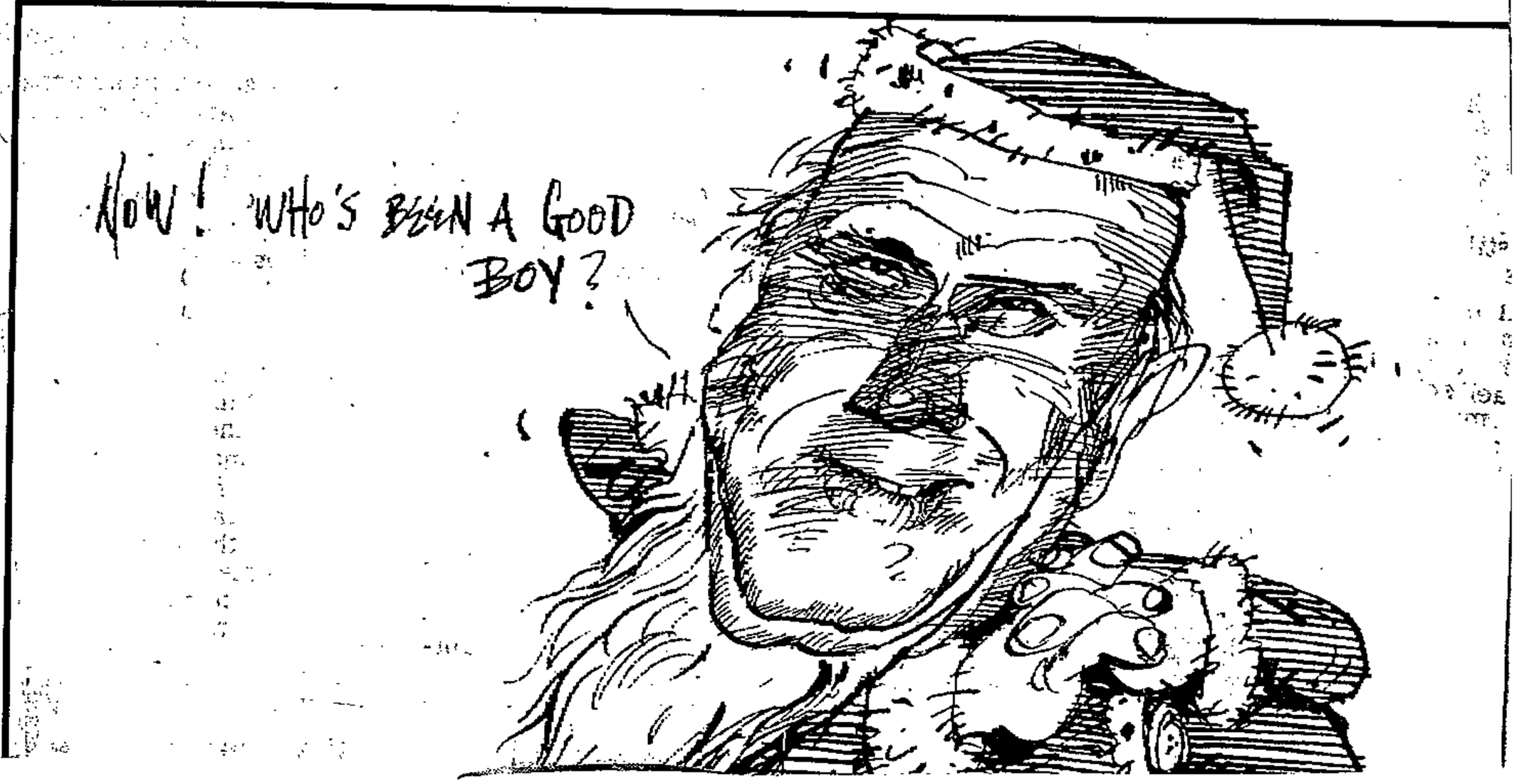
Suzman berates black leaders

W/T ARGUS 27/12/90

'Mandela and Buthelezi could have stemmed township violence'



HELEN SUZMAN, former MP for Houghton, is now president of the South African Institute of Race Relations. She has never been known to mince her words. This also holds true for her opinions of players on the political stage. When they were imprisoned, banned or exiled, she fought for their rights. Now she does not hesitate to criticise them if she sees fit. THEO COGGIN interviewed her for Race Relations News.



cation programmes

SAIRR keeps a watchful eye on SA

TANIA LEVY

WHEN the SA Institute of Race Relations (SAIRR) drew up its list "What to watch for in 1990", it could hardly have imagined this year's succession of headline-making events.

High on its list of what to watch out for this year was whether ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela and Inkatha Freedom Party Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi would meet. The list was compiled before Mandela was released from prison and before violence between ANC and Inkatha supporters spread from Natal to the Reef.

Unable to anticipate that hundreds of people would die in violence on the Reef in the latter half of the year, the institute wondered whether "black on black violence" and Natal's violence would end.

The violence did not end. More than 1 000 people were killed this year in Natal.

And the two leaders have yet to meet.

Top of the SAIRR's list was to watch whether government extended its talks with the ANC beyond Mandela. By the year end, two historic ANC-government summits had produced the Pretoria and Groote Schuur minutes.

In terms of the minutes the ANC agreed to suspend its armed struggle, government agreed to review security legislation and a joint working group was set up to facilitate the release of political prisoners and the return of exiles.

Most exiles still require indemnity and the majority of political prisoners are still behind bars.

Instructed by the SAIRR, SA watched for and witnessed the unbanning of the ANC and PAC and the scrapping of the Reservation of Separate Amenities Act.

However, CP towns found a loophole in new municipal by-laws to exclude "non-residents" from amenities.

The SAIRR was right when it pointed to a possible agreement between the Transvaal Provincial Administration and Soweto. In September the signing of the Greater Soweto Accord ended Soweto's five-year rent boycott.

Even before his watershed speech of February 2, SA was told to watch whether President F W de Klerk was invited to the White House — and whether he accepted.

He was ... and he did, but postponed his trip to allow Mandela to go first. In the meantime, De Klerk visited Britain, nine European countries and some in Africa.

As British prime minister, Margaret Thatcher accepted an invitation to visit SA but did not make it before her 11-year reign ended.

Events that the SAIRR predicted but that did not materialise included the appointment of a black Cabinet Minister and the reversal of government's decision to transfer J G Strijdom Hospital in Johannesburg to own affairs. In April hospitals were declared open to all races, although the own affairs health services remained intact.

White schools were given the option of opening to all races provided such a move was approved by a majority of parents. Teacher training colleges have not yet been given this option.

Other SAIRR pointers for 1990 which should bear watching in the new year are whether stability returns to black schools, whether De Klerk loses or retains the political initiative, whether volence stops and, of course, whether Buthelezi and Mandela do meet.

'Churches encouraged violence'

CAPE Times 5/2/91 (30C)

JOHANNESBURG. — Black people in the townships are reaping a whirlwind of violence that the churches have helped to sow, the executive director of the South African Institute of Race Relations (SAIRR), Mr John Kane-Berman, said in Johannesburg last night.

Addressing the Sandton Rotary Club, Mr Kane-Berman said that SAIRR research showed that 3 700 people died in political violence last year, while the January death toll was 160.

"Violence has reached the point where some of the churches are worried enough to begin to blaming it, at least in part, on liberatory organisations," he added.

Christian leadership in South Africa had helped to legitimate violence as a political instrument, Mr Kane-Berman argued. A meeting of South African church representatives in Lusaka in May 1987, for example, had endorsed the right of oppressed people to take up arms as a means to fight oppression.

A document adopted by the Lusaka meeting had said that "the nature of the South African regime which wages war against its own inhabitants and neighbours" legitimised the use of force by liberation movements.

Mr Kane-Berman pointed out that a leading churchman had said last month that liberation movements were co-responsible for cultivating the culture of violence in South Africa. They had, this person had said, "canonised their particular ideology or strategy to such an extent that anyone who opposes or simply fails to espouse it must be removed".

Mr Kane-Berman commented: "This is a courageous statement to make even at this late stage, but, if liberation movements have done that, the Christian churches have helped them do it by their endorsement of armed struggle." — Sapa

View of churches a 'vicious attack'

CAPE Times 6/2/96 (305)

JOHANNESBURG. — The South African Council of Churches has expressed its disgust at the "vicious and unwarranted attack" on churches by Mr John Kane-Berman, executive director of the SA Institute of Race Relations, in an address to the Sandton Rotary Club on Monday night.

In his address, Mr Kane-Berman said that black people were "reaping a whirlwind of violence that the churches have helped to sow". Christian leadership in South Africa had helped to legitimate violence as an instrument of liberation, he said.

SACC general-secretary the Rev Frank Chikane said it was clear that Mr Kane-Berman had taken an ideological stand against the victims of apartheid.

"Because of this, he fails to comprehend church leaders when they have said they understand why the people have resorted to force. Because he misunderstands, he misrepresented the churches' position.

"The apartheid system is the primary cause of the violence in our country. We would, therefore, not condemn the victims. You cannot make the victims of the violence responsible for the violence. The problems of violence have to be addressed, but at the root causes," Mr Chikane said.

In a separate response, the ANC Youth League charged that to equate the current violence, which could be attributed to either criminal or socio-political factors, with liberatory violent forms of struggle was "tantamount to a research institute reducing itself to the unpleasant level of a think-tank of a political party". — Sapa

Sunday Profile



JOHN KANE-BERMAN ... calling a spade a spade has never been a popular business

The raising of Kane-Berman

S/Times 10/2/91 (305)

WHEN John Kane-Berman launches a verbal attack he first takes careful aim, for the head of the SA Institute of Race Relations does not speak without checking his facts meticulously.

Proof is in the weighty annual Race Relations Survey; editor-in-chief Kane-Berman says in his preface to the 1989/90 edition that complaints about errors have averaged "less than one a year" in the seven years he has been editor-in-chief.

So when he accuses the churches of doing little to stem the violence — of "reaping what they have sown" — you can be sure he has a reasoned argument and no short answers.

The SAIRR identified a number of factors at work in the current wave of violence. At a meeting of South African church representatives in Lusaka in 1987, "it had been explicitly stated that people were not only justified but also compelled to use force to liberate themselves," says Kane-Berman.

Christians themselves had helped to legitimise the use of violence for political purposes.

This reminder in his speech to Rotarians on Monday drew the wrath of the SA Council Churches, which replied by expressing its disgust at "the vicious and unwarranted attack".

SACC general secretary the Rev Frank Chikane said it was clear Kane-Berman had taken an ideological stand against the victims of apartheid and had failed to comprehend church leaders when they had said they understood why the people had resorted to force.

All of which leaves John Kane-Berman unperturbed. His criticism, he insists, was justified. He is not the sort of man to shirk from publicly airing his views of the SACC's failings, or that of any other institution or establishment.

After all, he won his spurs the hard way. When Kane-Berman took over at the SAIRR in 1983, he found finances in a mess, with foreign donations often tied to particular political directions and an unwieldy bundle of projects. The institute was firmly associated in many minds with the far left.

He changed all that, launching the best of the projects, including Operation Hunger, into separate organisations and looking for funding, particularly locally, that had no strings attached.

This left the institute free to concentrate on its research and the bursary fund. "Chairman Ernie Wentzel and Laurie Schlemmer and I decided to liberate ourselves from the liberal laager, stop preaching to the converted and get the message across," he said.

The end result was an invitation to give briefings to cabinet ministers. "We had the opportunity to propose deregulation of black politics direct to the ministers."

Coupled with his dedication and reputation as a hard boss and an even harder worker, Kane-Berman, 44, is at heart a caring man.

He is known by friends and colleagues as a straight-talker who, if he has one fault, it is that he does not suffer fools gladly. He has an overriding, deep commitment to a non-racial South Africa. First came the conviction, then the job. "One comes to work in an organisation like this because of a general feeling, which is partly moral, partly rational and partly emotional, that this country has a potential to be a better place than it has been allowed to be," he said this week.

It is difficult to separate the man from the job; ask him about John Kane-Berman the man and the answer will be about the institute.

He grew up in a political family. His father was the national chairman of the War Veterans' Torch Committee, formed in 1951 by ex-servicemen. His mother was a member of the Liberal Party.

"I remember a bright-eyed little boy who worked in the Liberal Party office," says long-time friend and colleague Jill Wentzel, the institute's special research manager.

Kane-Berman jnr went on the last legal protest march that John Vorster allowed, in 1966. Vorster said to him: "As long as I am Prime Minister, there will never be another protest march in South Africa."

When Kane-Berman left Oxford University, he was offered research work or the post of regional director with the Progressive Party. He chose research, though he continued to work for Helen Suzman.

"Party politics have never attracted me. I don't think I would be very happy about being subjected to caucus discipline and having to toe the party line. I don't think I would be very good at that," he says.

The influence of the former Rhodes scholar, Financial Mail journalist and foreign correspondent, extends far beyond the SAIRR.

In June 1990, a joint conference was held in Moscow between the Institute for African Studies of the Academy of Sciences of the Soviet Union and representatives of the SAIRR.

The result is a book to be published next week, The Moscow Papers, jointly edited by Anatoly Gromyko, son of the former Soviet Foreign Minister, and Kane-Berman.

Kane-Berman has delivered many lectures abroad at venues which include London, New York, Adelaide, Atlanta, Amsterdam, Munich, Frankfurt and Madrid.

Locally, he was deputy chairman of the KwaZulu/Natal Indaba. He was elected honorary vice-president in 1988. He is a member of the board of the New Era Schools Trust. He has written, co-authored or edited several books, including Apartheid and Business and Sanctions and the Alternatives.

It was at Oxford that he found his hobby — English politics of the last century. He reads 10 books on this topic to every one on South Africa.

Off-duty, he is a theatre-goer. He liked My Fair Lady and the London National Theatre's Hamlet. He dislikes Andrew Lloyd Webber and refuses to go to what he dubs political polemic masquerading as theatre.

He has a David Hockney hanging behind his desk, but is getting a bit tired of it. When in Leningrad, he spent one of his two precious free days in the Hermitage museum, where he was bowled over by the paintings. When in Madrid, he heads for the Prado. At home, he hangs inexpensive prints.

"Get him drunk and he'll spout Shakespeare all night," says Jill Wentzel.

A former colleague remarked: "It's a pity there aren't more of him around. Calling a spade a spade is never a popular business — and that's the business he's in."

Cas St Leger

SAIRR 'will attack all forms of totalitarianism'

B/Day 11/2/91

305

THE SA Institute of Race Relations (SAIRR) firmly supports a liberal society and will not condone apartheid being replaced by another form of totalitarianism, says executive director John Kane-Berman.

He was speaking in the wake of a remark he made that SA church leaders had helped legitimise violence.

The remark drew a rebuke from SA Council of Churches general secretary Frank Chikane, who said it was "vicious and unwarranted".

Rejecting criticism that the SAIRR was hammering liberation movements and the churches unfairly, Kane-Berman said while the institute was not going out of its way to criticise political movements, their strategies would come under increasingly close scrutiny as the SA political drama unfolded.

His organisation was quite clear about what sort of post-apartheid society it wanted.

Kane-Berman said the institute had undergone a sea change in its orientation.

"There has been a change in the seven years since I've been here that resulted from some strategic thinking at the start of 1984.

"It could be summed up as the desire to break out of the liberal laager, where organisations like the institute spent most of their time bewailing the effects of apartheid to one another and preaching only to the converted.

"We decided quite deliberately to try and spread the messsage to a wider constituency, including people who did not necessarily agree with us. We came out strongly warning of the risks of violence involved in the 1984 constitution, for example.

"We saw no point in repeating that to liberal parliamentarians, but tried to take it to a wider audience. We

PATRICK BULGER

argued that one needed a fundamental political solution and that was to deregulate black politics. We were among the first organisations to argue that case.

"Because we have consciously taken the decison to try argue the case to a wider audience we were able to argue that case to a Cabinet committee and to those same seven Cabinet ministers we raised the question of police intervention in township situations.

"We specifically said there was a major problem with the way police were handling demonstrations and that all too often when they intervened they made things worse rather than better."

Political deregulation had liberated traditionally liberal organisations from an unconscious and self-imposed unease about criticising the policies and strategies of banned organisations unable to argue back.

Transition

"That unease has now disappeared," Kane-Berman said.

"It has become increasingly apparent that the birth of the new SA is not going to be plain sailing. Societies undergoing a process of transition have on more than one occasion degenerated from tsarism into bolshevism or from revolutionary violence to revolutionary terror.

"We are not going to sit back and assume that everything is going to work out in SA. That does not lead to criticism of particular organisations.

"We have criticised strategies like mass mobilisation.

"We started warning of the dangers of mass mobilisation and pointing out that often mass mobilisation ended up in confrontations with police, other organisations and rank and file people.

"The right to peaceful protest must be guaranteed. But when political action so frequently leads to coercion such as often happens in consumer and rent boycotts, we have a responsibility to point out that certain strategies have a tendency to lead to abuses and violence.

"In the same way that you point out that if you give the police powers to detain without trial it is going to lead to torture and deaths in detention.

"If your research leads you to the conclusion that some strategies lead to violence it has to be pointed out. It is now becoming apparent that increasing numbers of people in the ANC camp are aware of that.

"Mandela has talked of undisciplined youths. But you can't blame coercion on a few unruly individuals any more than you can blame deaths in detention on a few policemen who exceeded their powers.

"We would like to see apartheid replaced by a liberal multiparty democracy with regular elections, secret ballots, guarantees of civil liberties and a bill of rights. It's nailing our colours to the mast of that kind of society.

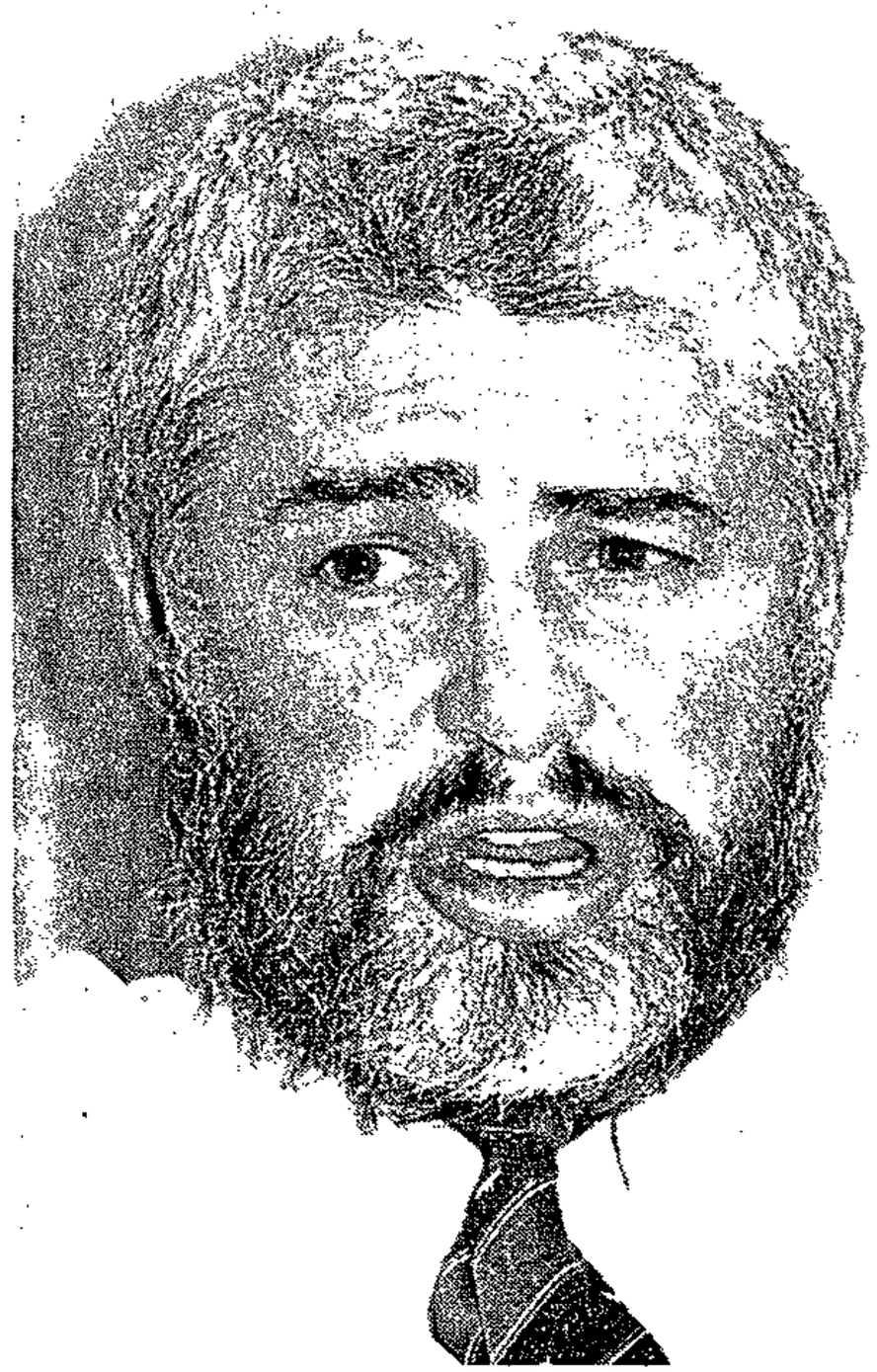
We are going to reflect the views of pople who support that agenda and of people that oppose it.

"Eugene Terre'Blanche has a much right to have his views express as does Mandela.

"If you ask: do we favour one kind of society as opposed to another kind — yes, very definitely.

"We abandoned our research programme in looking at strategies to speed up the disintegration of apartheid a year ago and we have focused much more on the future.

"We are now doing research aimed at identifying and warning against tendencies that may lead this society into something worse than the system that has gone before."



Kane-Berman . . . remarks defended. Picture: ROBERT BOTHA

Bill aims to extend coun

BILLY PA

CAPE TOWN — Government was making provision for local councils to extend their councillors' terms of office without elections, Planning and Provincial Affairs Minister Hernus Kriel said at the weekend.

The interim Local Authority Bill, which was about to go to the Joint Committee on Home Affairs, Planning and Provincial Affairs and was likely to be tabled in Parliament in March, was predominantly enabling legislation, he said.

Provision would be made in the Bill for councillors to extend their terms of office by two to three years, by which time legislation providing for a new local government system

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B/Day 11/2/91

11/2/95

Cape Times, Monday, Febi

Kane-Berman defends church stand

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The SA Institute of Race Relations (SAIRR) is a firmly liberal society and will not condone apartheid being replaced by another form of totalitarianism, says its executive director Mr John Kane-Berman.

Mr Kane-Berman said this in response to criticism of a remark he made that SA church leaders "had helped legitimise violence". SA Council of Churches general secretary Reverend Frank Chikane, said the remark was "vicious and unwarranted".

Rejecting criticism that the SAIRR was hammering liberation movements and the churches unfairly, Mr Kane-Berman said that while the institute was not going out of its way to criticise political movements, their strategies would come under increasingly close scrutiny.

Political deregulation had freed liberal organisations from an unconscious and self-imposed unease about criticising the policies and strategies of banned organisations unable to argue back.

Confrontations

"It has become increasingly apparent that the birth of the new SA is not going to be plain sailing," Mr Kane-Berman said.

"We have criticised strategies like mass mobilisation and pointed out that they often ended up in confrontations with police, other organisations and the rank and file.

"The right to peaceful protest must be guaranteed. But when political action so often leads to coercion such as in consumer and rent boycotts, we have a responsibility to point out that certain strategies have a tendency to lead to abuses and violence.

"In the same way that you point out that if you give the police powers to detain without trial it is going to lead to torture and deaths in detention," he said.

Govt cannot cope with socio-economic backlogs alone – SAIRR

By Mark Suzman (305)

Star 21/2/91

The State alone cannot cope with socio-economic backlogs and alternatives to exclusive Government funding will have to be made, according to the South African Institute of Race Relations (SAIRR).

In its latest Social and Economic Update, the SAIRR notes that the Government is caught in a dilemma — it wants to cut expenses, but needs to increase funding to improve black living conditions.

But in the field of education alone, the institute points out, the cost of raising black education levels to those of whites would cost more 40 percent of the State budget, requiring a 25 percent increase in income tax.

One option being examined by the Government is to allow parents to subsidise teachers' salaries, which constitute two-thirds of education expenditure.

Another is to use money from partial privatisation of schools to improve lower income groups' education.

With regard to the housing shortage, the report notes that initiatives from private-sector groups such as the Urban Foundation and Old Mutual are already complementing Government actions.

The Update also discusses ongoing health and transport initiatives to help blacks, and urges private and public measures to help blacks get health insurance.

More positively, the SAIRR observes that some progress has been made to improve blacks' quality of life.

This includes the improvement of teacher qualifications, a reduction in the backlog of land available for housing and steps towards helping first-time homebuyers with their purchases.

Real hopes for peace emerge

Back from the brink

305
w/mail
3/5-9/5/91

By PHILLIP VAN NIEKERK

CHURCH leaders have launched a fresh peace initiative in a bid to break the political deadlock and draw South Africa back from the brink of civil war.

As intense violence continued to rage in Soweto and other Witwatersrand townships this week, the Reverend Frank Chikane, general secretary of the South African Council of Churches, was engaged in shuttle diplomacy aimed at drawing all parties to the conflict to the peace table.

Church leaders were arranging to meet President FW de Klerk on Friday morning to discuss their proposals.

Chikane and Dr Beyers Naude met with African National Congress deputy president Nelson Mandela on Thursday. On the agenda were the ANC's May 9 ultimatum, De Klerk's proposal for a peace summit and for a troika meeting between De Klerk, Mandela and Inkatha Freedom Party leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

It is understood that the SACC has won the backing of the ANC for the notion that the churches should host a multi-party conference on violence — taking over this role from De Klerk.

Chikane met on April 23 with Buthelezi, who is pre-

●To PAGE 2



Traditional weapon? Residents of 'Chicken Farm' squatter camp gather to defend their area, armed with a medieval-style axe Photo: KEVIN CARTER

●From PAGE 1

pared to participate in De Klerk's summit.

The intervention of the churches came as South Africa entered a week which Mandela described as "crucial".

Speaking at a May Day rally in Sebokeng, he warned that the next few days would "determine whether or not our hopes of moving forward quickly towards the establishment of a non-racial, non-sexist democratic society in our country are to be dashed even before we have begun to negotiate".

The Congress of South African Trade Unions has threatened to call a general strike if the government does not respond seriously to the deadline

The violence — and the perceived complicity of security force members on the side of Inkatha — has generated intense anger among rank and file ANC members. This week many were saying the only solution was to destroy Inkatha by force.

Chikane said in a statement yesterday the only way to avert the violence was for the government to stop it. He said he was hopeful the meetings with De Klerk and Mandela could find a solution to break the deadlock.

Church leaders bid to start peace talks

W/Mail 3/5-9/5/91 (305) (2nd)

De Klerk first called a peace conference, scheduled for May 24 and 25 in Pretoria, two weeks ago. He said in parliament on Thursday that the ANC's participation in the conference was important but the government would proceed even if the ANC were not there.

The ANC has rejected both any troika arrangement involving Mandela, De Klerk and Buthelezi and the peace conference, if it is to be hosted by the government. The ANC did not reject a peace summit outright, but said it would have to be called by an organisation or person not a party to the conflict.

De Klerk warned in parliament on Monday that the country was slipping towards civil war and the culture of violence in the townships had to be healed.

However, the security forces were yet again in the forefront of criticism for their handling of the violence. The conflict in Soweto was sparked by Sunday's funeral for the assassinated mayor of Dobsonville, Moses Kumalo, where *rooidoeke* went on the rampage, slaughtering residents while police apparently stood by doing very little to prevent it.

And despite police assurances that they would strictly enforce the curfew in Soweto from Tuesday night to prevent bloodshed during May Day celebrations, the death toll in the aftermath of Wednesday's clashes stood at 37 by late Thursday.

The general secretary of the South African Communist Party, Joe Slovo, charged at a May Day rally this week that the ANC could not be blamed for concluding that De Klerk had a "double agenda": "Even if De Klerk does not encourage them openly, he certainly has done nothing to stop the anti-peace forces."

Chikane said the events of the past days confirmed ANC reports that there were plans to wage war against township residents between April 28 and May 9 "to create a situation where no agreement can be reached between the De Klerk government and the ANC to bring negotiations back on track".

Weekly Mail reporters in Soweto this week witnessed a determined bloodlust from both the red-headbanded Inkatha supporters and the white-headbanded ANC "comrades".

ANC spokesman Saki Makozoma said yesterday the current violence bore out the ANC's prediction last weekend that a major offensive was being planned against the movement.

Back to square one as churches struggle to find solution

wlmail 24/5 – 29/5/91

By PAT SIDLEY

IT IS "with nothing other than a heavy heart" that religious leaders have turned down their invitations to President FW de Klerk's peace conference.

Almost no leaders belonging to churches within the South African Council of Churches, the Catholic church and few, if any, Jewish or Muslim leaders will attend.

It would seem the only religious leaders who are attending are from the white Afrikaans churches such as the Dutch Reformed Church, the pentacostal and charismatic churches and perhaps some African independent churches.

Apparently not very many other religious leaders have been asked. The Chief Rabbi, Cyril Harris, was not invited, but according to sources the Jewish Board of Deputies has been asked and will attend.

The lines have been drawn, according to the SACC's Frank Chikane, and it's back to the pre-February 2 1990 status, with those who always supported apartheid plus Inkatha and business who will be at the conference, and the rest will stay away.

The churches and religious leaders have been playing an increasing role in trying to bring about some form of peace conference.

But despite appearances, since the National Conference of Churches in Rustenberg, that many churches from across the political spectrum have been working together, in fact those lines have been redrawn and it is back to square one. The SACC churches are being dubbed by some as the "ANC at prayer", with the white Afrikaans churches seen as "those who have always supported apartheid".

Although Chikane reassures the press that he and the SACC are working closely with the Dutch Reformed Churches and the Rustenberg conference, in fact the rift has widened while Chikane has shuttled around the country seeking a path to peace.

Professor Johan Heyns, moderator of the Dutch Reformed Church, has expressed his deep disappointment at the SACC decision — a decision he was informed of through the media and not by Chikane or any SACC people.

While Chikane initially included Heyns in his first delegation to De Klerk some weeks ago, he was not included in the rounds of talks with the ANC's Nelson Mandela, nor the two trips to Ulundi to see Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, the meeting of religious leaders at the SACC, or the trip on Tuesday afternoon with business leaders to see De Klerk.

The co-chairman of the Rustenberg conference, Dr Louw Alberts, was not included either. He was quoted during the week saying that there should not be two peace conferences.

Whether they want it to be characterised that way or not, the same lines were drawn through the religious leaders this week as through the political groupings either accepting or declining their invitiations.

It has now become clearer that the SACC initiative has been to try to convince De Klerk that his conference will not achieve its goals, and to try to persuade him either to drop the plans or change the type of conference and its hosts so that it would become more acceptable to more players. The meeting at the SACC this week of religious leaders was brought together in part to decide how to respond to the invitations.

The desire of the clergy was to act in some united way. At the beginning of the meeting there were several who believed it important that the De Klerk conference be attended. At the end they had all agreed it would serve no useful purpose and those who had been invited would not attend. They would also impart all of this to De Klerk through Chikane.

When it appeared to be impossible to get De Klerk to change his plans, support was sought for an alternative peace plan to be planned by a broad range of religious leaders.

But the early stumbling blocks remain. Buthelezi has long-standing reservations about the SACC which he has not yet overcome and the SACC leaders are acutely aware that any conference without Inkatha, the ANC and the government cannot hope to achieve anything valuable.

SACC religious leaders, as well as the ANC and other political groupings, remain sceptical about the conference. "Who has seen an agenda, or an invitation list?" asked one. "Will the agenda be honest and open, or will it be open to manipulation?"

The sceptics may feel justified by the references from government circles to the fact that anybody not attending will obviously be excluded from anything decided at the conference — clearly implying an agenda with a vision at the end. This was borne out too by Heyns, who suggested that religious leaders who are attending the conference will announce some kind of plan at the end of the conference to try and restore the peace talks.

Weekly Mail out early next week

THE WEEKLY MAIL will appear a day early next week, on Thursday May 30, due to the public holiday on Friday.

● Have you filled in your *Weekly Mail* survey form? Last week we published our biennial survey of reader opinion. We need to know what you think — to improve our newspaper, to give you better service and to help us sell advertising.

If you haven't done so yet, dig out last week's edition and send it in as soon as possible.

78% of bursary students pass-

STUDENTS awarded bursaries by the SA Institute of Race Relations achieved a 78% pass rate last year.

The institute said yesterday that of its 798 university and technikon bursary holders in 1990, 148 students graduated.

Institute president Helen Suzman said she wanted publicly to congratulate all the institute's bursars on a "fine performance in often difficult circumstances".

Institute bursars attended 17 universities across the country.

There was only one technikon graduate in 1990, but the number of students attending technikons had risen this year.

Bursary director Dennis Venter said the growing number of the institute's technikon students emphasised recognition that a shift towards technical education was needed in SA.

Science (25%) accounted for the largest proportion of the institute's graduates last year. Then came education 19%, arts 17%, law 12%, para-medical 12%, and engineering 3% — Sapa.

Mandela, Chikane in vital talks

Sowetan 23/5/91.

By DON SEOKANE and Sapa

ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela met South African Council of Churches leader the Rev Frank Chikane yesterday to try to break a deadlock over township violence.

Meanwhile, the Pan Africanist Congress yesterday reaffirmed its decision not to participate in the summit on violence and urged the Government to recuse itself from convening the summit.

PAC deputy president Mr Dikgang Moseneke told a Press briefing in Johannesburg that the PAC instead favoured a church-sponsored conference.

He said his organisation had been in consultation with the SACC about the matter.

Mandela and Chikane talked about religious leaders' efforts to secure maximum participation in the peace process, a council spokeswoman said.

Chikane has been shuttling between the main political figures to try to convene multiparty talks to halt battles that some researchers say have taken 1 800 lives in nine months.

Moseneke said the Government's involvement in the ongoing violence disqualified it from convening any conference.

He said the PAC was questioning whether the Government was convening the summit only to "soothe its conscience or was the invitation sincere".

In the light of objections from the ANC and PAC, who should convene a conference on peace? The churches? Any other group? Telephone popular Radio Metro DJ Tim Modise between 4.30pm and 5pm today and tell the nation what you think. The hotline number is 714-8063. Listen to the *Sowetan*/Radio Metro talkback programme on medium-wave at 576KhZ.

Praise from race body for high pass rate

Not everything was bleak on the black education scene in South Africa last year despite the turbulence and violence in the country, says the SA Institute of Race Relations (SAIRR).

The institute said in a statement on Wednesday that last year students awarded bursaries by it achieved a 78 percent pass rate.

Of the institute's 798 university and technikon bursary holders in 1990, 148 students graduated. Twenty of these had continued as post-graduate bursars this year, while other bursars were continuing their studies in second and third year.

The president of the SA Institute of Race Relations, Helen Suzman, said she wanted publicly to congratulate all the institute's bursars on a "fine performance".

Institute bursars attended a total of 17 universities across the country.

The SAIRR said there was only one technikon graduate in 1990, but the number of students attending technikons had risen significantly this year. Altogether 32 new technikon bursary awards had been made for 1991, the highest since the inception of the institute's bursary programme, which brought the total to 76 technikon students, 44 of whom were continuing students.

Shift

Dennis Venter, bursary director of the institute, said the growing number of its technikon students emphasised recognition by the institute and its donors that a shift towards technical education was needed in South Africa to generate the skills required for employment.

Mr Venter said sponsors of the bursary programme had made additional funds available for more students to attend technikons. The comparatively recent opening up of technikons to all races would greatly facilitate black technical education, he said.

Science (25 percent) accounted for the largest proportion of the institute's graduates last year, the institute said, with education (19), arts (17), law (12), para-medical (12), and engineering the lowest at three percent.

The SAIRR will be accepting applications for bursaries from July for people wishing to study in 1992. The closing date is October 31.

Contact: Moira Campbell - Tel: (011) 403 3600 — Sapa.

Think-tanks vie for a place in the market

South 27/6 -3/7/91 (305)

IDASA
Institute for a Democratic Alternative in South Africa

IDASA re-examined its role following the February 2 announcement last year and identified as its four areas of work: assisting in stability and transformation of the security forces; encouraging negotiations, specially at local government level; dealing with the education crisis, particularly at secondary level; and encouraging the development of a just economic system.

Idasa is involved in organising conferences, workshops and tours in South Africa and abroad on these issues and is assisting in launching an Institute for Democracy in Africa.

CDS
Centre for Development Studies

CDS's primary tasks are policy research and policy-making and most of its work is contractual research on policy formation for a post-apartheid, democratic South Africa.

In the past year, CDS has held conferences and workshops on local government, planning the economy, electoral systems, gender and the constitution and land.

It has published papers, workshop and conference reports, booklets and discussion documents. Its first book, "Local Government and Planning for a Democratic South Africa," will be launched soon.

IMPD
Institute for a Multi-Party Democracy

THE MPD, launched three months ago, is still setting up its administrative structures. Its objective is "to promote the development and maintenance of multi-party democracy, political tolerance and national reconciliation in South Africa."

Its activities will include a political leadership programme, a covenant on democracy, a public information programme, a school-orientated education for democracy programme, an applied research programme, a voter education programme and an information and research programme.

SAIRR
South African Institute for Race Relations

THE SAIRR publishes the annual journal, "Race Relations Survey".

The next edition will be expanded to include environmental information.

SAIRR has extended its research into the impact of apartheid with a programme to identify strategies to speed up its disintegration.

Four years ago, the SAIRR launched a special publication to monitor what progress was being made in dealing with backlogs in education, energy, health services, housing, transport and water supplies among black communities.

The institute has also launched a programme to monitor and analyse the violence in the country.

A book highlighting the intimidation black journalists are subjected to, "Mau-Mauing the Media: New Censorship for the New South Africa", will soon be published by the SAIRR.

Left stifling press freedom book

Star 4/7/91

305

By Brendan Templeton

Widespread grassroots censorship of journalists through left-wing intimidation is a "chilling" but unreported phenomenon in South Africa, according to the Institute of Race Relations.

The institute last night launched a book, "Mau-Mauing the Media: New Censorship for the New South Africa", which claims the Left has taken over from the Government in stifling press freedom.

The book contains transcripts of talks and discussions at an SAIRR seminar last year attended by senior black journalists and other people working in the media.

"They indicated that in recent years this 'alternative' censorship has been fierce enough to block the publication of much that happened in the country's black townships," the SAIRR said in a statement.

According to senior assistant editor of the Sowetan, Thami Mazwai: "We have a situation in which journalists are far less exposed to arrest, detention and incarceration by the Government than they used to be, but are being threatened and manhandled by political activists in the townships, in the towns and everywhere, and are being told to toe the line or else."

He added that many journalists had fought to retain their independence and credibility, but not all had succeeded in the face of intimidation.

Accounts of intimidation by the Left included:

- A reporter threatened with necklacing by activists who accused him of belonging to a rival organisation.
- A petrol bomb thrown at the home of a fellow-journalist employed by the paper.
- The circulation of the Inkatha-owned newspaper, Ilanga, dropped by about 23 000 after shopkeepers who sold it were attacked, and people who were caught reading it were forced to eat it and sometimes threatened with death.
- A news editor who could not come to work one day because local youngsters called him to a meeting. "Here were 13-year-olds, who could hardly spell their names, questioning a journalist on the policy of his newspaper."

Warning

- Reporters receiving abusive calls at night.
- A reporter who had to evacuate his wife and children from his house after receiving a warning that he was about to be attacked.
- A threatened boycott of a newspaper after prominent activists accused it of "sowing division".

According to the book, journalists were supported when jailed by the State but blacklisted when they criticised the Left. Senior political reporter at The Star, Kaizer Nyatsumba, said censorship from the Left was worse because it was never reported.

A senior labour and political journalist, Connie Molusi, attributed the current political intolerance "to the period popularly known as the mass insurrection era spanning 1984 and 1986 when a culture of 'people's war' was born, with compulsory attendance at street committees and punishment for disobedience".

White liberals came under attack at the SAIRR conference to launch the book. Black journalists accused them of being reluctant to criticise liberation movements for fear of having their credentials questioned.

The English press was slated for being "sycophantic" towards the ANC for the past seven years.

Funding organisations also came under fire. They were accused of handing over vast sums of money to student organisations which did not have the discipline or skills to use it properly.

Mr Mazwai said: "You have some of these youngsters driving around in cars, with loads and loads of money in their pockets.

"There are countries that are particularly guilty of this ... but I believe they have done a great disservice to the struggle in this country: they have created a monster which has now become uncontrollable."

Aids 'a threat to political stability'

Star 11/7/91 (8) (305)

Aids could seriously skew the economy and threaten political stability in South Africa, the Institute of Race Relations says.

In the latest issue of the SAIRR's Social and Economic Update, researcher Robin Hamilton says it seems apparent that Aids will affect every sector of the economy — "and if it proves to be a constraint on economic growth, it may in turn retard or reverse efforts to redress the socio-economic inequalities".

Mr Hamilton cites a senior research Fellow at the University of Natal, Alan Whiteside, as estimating that between 1,3 million and 7 million people will die of Aids by the year 2000.

Mr Whiteside says the first to die would be the urban elite, leading to a loss of manpower.

This could be exacerbated by the emigration of professionals seeking to escape the Aids epidemic, as well as by the drying up of immigration to South Africa from Europe.

Shortages of skills would then lead to dramatic wage rises.

As early as 1995, insurance giant Old Mutual expects a decline in business confidence and a massive diversion of resources to medical and welfare spending because of Aids.

Mr Whiteside notes that the World Bank has indicated that as the direct cost of Aids is only 20 percent of the true cost, the cost to the economy could be between R32 billion and R78 billion in the year 2000.

Two local studies show that by April 1990, 87 701 donations to blood transfusion services in South Africa had tested positive for the Aids virus HIV, and in November 1990 some 10 000 residents of Johannesburg were believed to be HIV positive.

Europe

In addition, Dr Coen Slabber, director-general of National Health and Population Development, was quoted in January as saying that 315 000 South Africans would be HIV positive by the end of the year.

He said many more were at risk in Africa than in Europe, as Aids mainly infected sexually active adults between 15 and 49.

Whereas in Europe the predominant number of cases involved homosexual and bisexual men, as well as intravenous drug users, in Africa the highest incidence of the disease was in heterosexual people.

The SAIRR publication notes that many blacks view Aids as a white man's disease aimed at reducing black population growth, while in the white community it is considered to be a disease restricted to blacks and homosexuals.

Mr Hamilton comments that the Government's educational programme has been inadequate in facilitating a change in sexual behaviour to prevent the spread of Aids and dispel myths about the disease.

Minister of National Health and Population Development Dr Rina Venter said Aids was not primarily a medical problem. "It relates to social behaviour."

Mr Hamilton reports that Dr Venter has warned that if only 0,55 percent of the population is admitted to hospital with Aids, every available hospital bed in South Africa would be filled, and the costs of treatment would equal the country's total present health budget.

He said political unrest and poor socio-economic conditions made it more difficult to persuade people to alter their sexual behaviour. — Sapa.

Hints of NP alliance with other groups

Star 11/7/91

The National Party will try to form an alliance with the Inkatha Freedom Party, Labour Party, Solidarity, Zion Christian Church and various homeland leaders, according to the Institute of Race Relations.

It said in its latest publication that its information came from sources close to the NP hierarchy, and added that the Zion Christian Church was already thinking of converting to a political party.

It said the NP believed this alliance could attract a majority of voters.

Author Shaun Mackay, a research officer at the institute, said that in anticipation of the proposed multiparty conference, most major political organisations were expanding their power bases through alliances.

"Recent surveys have indicated that the NP has substantial support from coloured people and Indians, and for this reason it has opened its membership to blacks in the hope of attracting that support.

"The IFP has (also) opened its doors to all races and claims to have gained a substantial number of white members."

The ANC, PAC and Azapo, on the other hand, were looking at a united front of liberation organisations, while the Conservative Party rejected the multiparty conference outright, claiming it was aimed at negotiating away the right of the Afrikaner to self-determination.

According to the publication, the PAC and Azapo saw the proposed multiparty conference as an opportunity for the Government to diminish the legitimate claims of the "oppressed" through compromise in a body which the NP would fill with black parties it had been working with.

In the author's opinion, there was the danger that organisations such as the PAC and Azapo, which refuse to take part in the multiparty conference, could lose their chance of helping to shape the foundation upon which a new constitution was to be built.

"The ANC is also in favour of an interim government and an elected constituent assembly. To allow for an interim government, the present Government would need to change the constitution.

"This is, however, unlikely to happen." — Sapa.



Old adversaries ... But freedom of speech is under threat from the left and the right **Photograph: KEVIN CARTER**

The silent war over words

w/mail 19/7 - 25/7/91

The Institute of Race Relations recently highlighted censorship from the left. **PHILLIP VAN NIEKERK** reminds us that everyone is guilty of Mau Mauing press freedom

THE American psychoanalyst, Paul Goodman, once observed that censorship is a sign that speech is serious: "Where there is none, it is pretty certain that the official spokesmen have all the loudspeakers."

This puts South African journalists in a bind. With a multitude of parties fighting for ideological turf, to be a loudspeaker for one party puts one at risk of being censored or censured by another. To be a loudspeaker for none is not to earn respect for independence but to be treated with suspicion and hostility by all.

The Institute of Race Relations' publication, *Mau Mauing the Media*, which has been widely reported on in recent weeks, hones in on one aspect of this silent war: censorship from the left.

Five black journalists tell grim stories of what it is like to report against the grain in the townships. Three other opponents of the commissars — including singer Dawn Lindberg, the managing director of *Ilanga*, Arthur Konigkramer, and poet Lionel Abrahams — testify.

We hear of threats of necklacing and assassination, of organised campaigns to stop shops from stocking Inkatha's *Ilanga* newspaper, of daily intimidation and pressures on black journalists to conform.

It is an articulate and disturbing testimony. *Sowetan* business editor Thami Mazwai relates: "We have now reached a point where a journalist is told, 'You are either for us or against us.' It is sheer political blackmail ... here is this new threat: not only do I have to defy the government, I also have to present the facts in such a way that I am seen to be pushing a particular organisation."

The institute's director, John Kane Berman, describes why he organised the conference that the book was based upon: "We wanted to expose people, our membership, to the kind of information that is not getting into the press." The alternative censorship, we are told, ensures that much of what is happening on the ground is just not making it into the mainstream newspapers.

What is disconcerting, though, for an account that sets out to fight for the right of the public to know more is what is absent from this book. We are presented with testimonial accounts that are fashioned into an ideological weapon to beat the African National Congress. This leaves an unfortunately partisan impression, that someone has an axe to grind.

Whoever believes that supporters of the ANC are the only culprits in intimidating should speak to journalists on *The Weekly Mail* or *City Press* or any other publication that have been threatened or harassed by Inkatha. They should speak to one of my colleagues who arrived at my home late one recent Sunday night after being threatened by a gun-wielding Inkatha supporter at a shebeen for something he had written.

They should also speak to reporters — especially black reporters — who attempt to cover the activities of the far right.

The report is also too sanguine in referring to state actions against the press in the past tense, simply because journalists are no longer in detention and newspapers are not under threat of closure.

The fact is that in South Africa, many politicians and activists, particularly those of the second tier, are overwhelmingly immature when it comes to respecting the independence of journalists.

What the book has usefully highlighted is the existence of an activist community which has sought an ideological hegemony in that community.

It is heartening to hear the honesty of the testimony of the black journalists. Connie Molusi says: "I think for as long as political organisations continue to fight for political hegemony, to see themselves as sole representatives of black people, the violence is not going to end."

This activist community has set itself up as "the people" and sought to interpret the grievances and the aspirations of the entire black community. They have displayed an extraordinary oversensitivity to the written word, putting journalists into Mazwai's two categories: for them or against them.

Part of the struggle has been to project a false image of total unity in the black community — and to often enforce this image with threats and intimidation if necessary.

In effect these activists have often stood in the way of the journalist and his access to the broader community. A journalist, say from a foreign paper, goes into a township and meets instant spokespeople: a youth leader, a church worker, the local ANC leadership.

They purport to interpret for the outsider what the community at large feels, yet they are merely projecting a particular mainstream political line. The reporter misses the great diversity of opinion, of feeling, of mood in that community.

Do ordinary black people — those that the activists are supposed to champion — realise that they are the losers, both in the toned-down accounts of events that reach them in their newspapers and in the curious form of stereotyping that takes place?

Or has the leadership of the ANC or Inkatha, with their frequent press-bashing, managed to prevent the development of a greater tolerance towards the press?

These are crucial questions. The battle for press freedom, just like the struggle for pluralism, will inevitably be won or lost in the townships, where the pressures to conform — and thus the dangers to freedom of speech — are so much more intense than in the white suburbs.

Your big chance to study at Harvard

Sowetan 25/7/91

25/7/91

By ALI MPHAKI

BLACK South Africans in mid-career have a chance to obtain advanced training at Harvard University in the United States.

This can be done through applying for a fellowship with the Harvard/South Africa Fellowship Programme, which is run by the South African Institute of Race Relations.

According to the bursary director of the Institute, Mr Dennis Venter, the programme is intended for those men and women who have shown considerable skills in their chosen fields and who would be likely to benefit from advanced training.

The fellowship provides for up to one year's study at Harvard. It includes all tuition and fees for the period of enrolment at the university, as well as a subsistence allowance and the cost of a return air ticket.

The average age of those selected for the fellowship is between 30 and 40.

Candidates who have just completed, or are busy completing their first degree are not normally selected.

This does not apply to those candidates who are conducting their studies concurrent with, or subsequent to, professional experience in the workplace.

Venter points out that to be eligible for a fellowship, a candidate need not have received a first degree.

Several fellows without degrees have spent a year at Harvard as "special students", for example, in the programme for management development at the Harvard Business School.

Candidates are expected to attend one full academic year at Harvard.

As the American academic year begins in September, most fellows begin their studies in the September following their selection.

Each year about 200 applications are received, of which from 12 to 15 candidates are interviewed by the selection committee in late January.

The closing date for applications is September 30 1991.

Application forms are available from The Harvard/South Africa Fellowship Programme, South African Institute of Race Relations, PO Box 32597, Braamfontein 2017.

Activists train their sights on 'sellouts'

Black town councillors and policemen have been the main targets of attacks from forces bent on destroying black local authorities, a recent publication claims. KAIZER NYATSUMBA reports.

Star 15/8/91

THE ONGOING resignation of black town councillors, which has led to the collapse of a number of councils and their replacement with appointed township administrators, is an indictment of the coercive methods and pressures employed by activists, says the South African Institute of Race Relations.

In a report headlined "History of attacks on black local authorities", SAIRR special research manager Jill Wentzel says black councillors and policemen have been the prime targets of attacks from activists opposed to their "collaboration with the system".

Ms Wentzel catalogues threats, pressures and attacks on councillors and black policemen since the introduction of the Black Local Authorities Act in 1983, and says some of the black town councillors have had to pay the ultimate price for their convictions.

It is in this perspective, she says, that a number of councillors — 358 between August last year and February — have tendered their resignations.

Some of the statistics supplied by Ms Wentzel in her report are:

- There were 111 attacks on black councillors between January and July 1990, and another 84 attacks on them between August last year and February 1991.
- Six councillors were killed between January and July 1990, seven between last August and February 1991, and another three between March and June this year. This brings to 16 the number of councillors killed in 18 months — almost one every month.
- A total of 358 councillors resigned between last August and February this year, with 85 percent of them saying they had been intimidated into doing so.
- A total of 90 policemen were killed between January 1990 and June this year.

Ms Wentzel says that although campaigns against black local authorities were "a reflection of black anger at being fobbed off with local rather than parliamentary representation" when the tricameral parliamentary system was introduced in 1983, the campaigns were stepped up last year despite moves towards the negotiation of a new, nonracial system of local government.

This, she says, was because campaigns against black local authorities continued to be an overall strategy to achieve the total collapse of apartheid by rendering "black areas" ungovernable.

Ms Wentzel's report says policemen were attacked not only "during violence which arose out of protests against local authorities" but were also victims of political violence in recent years.

The police's poor image and reputation therefore obscured "the emergence of a new dimension in political violence — the steady increase in attacks on the police".

She adds that most of the kitskonstabels caught in the crossfire had been employed to defend black councillors in the first place.

Ms Wentzel writes: "In the last six years, mob killings of councillors and policemen have received most public attention when campaigns were mounted against the imposition of the death penalty and terms of imprisonment on those convicted of taking part in the killings."

She concludes that "the general lack of attention" paid to attacks on councillors and policemen appears to have "given consent" to assumptions that:

- Campaigns which get out of control and result in death, injury and destruction of property are a natural consequence of apartheid, and as such do not merit critical comment.
- Violent attacks on people and their property are less damaging to society if the victims, individually or collectively, are perceived to be morally blameworthy.
- Attacks on blacks are of less concern than attacks on whites.
- Attacks on "collaborators" are justified.

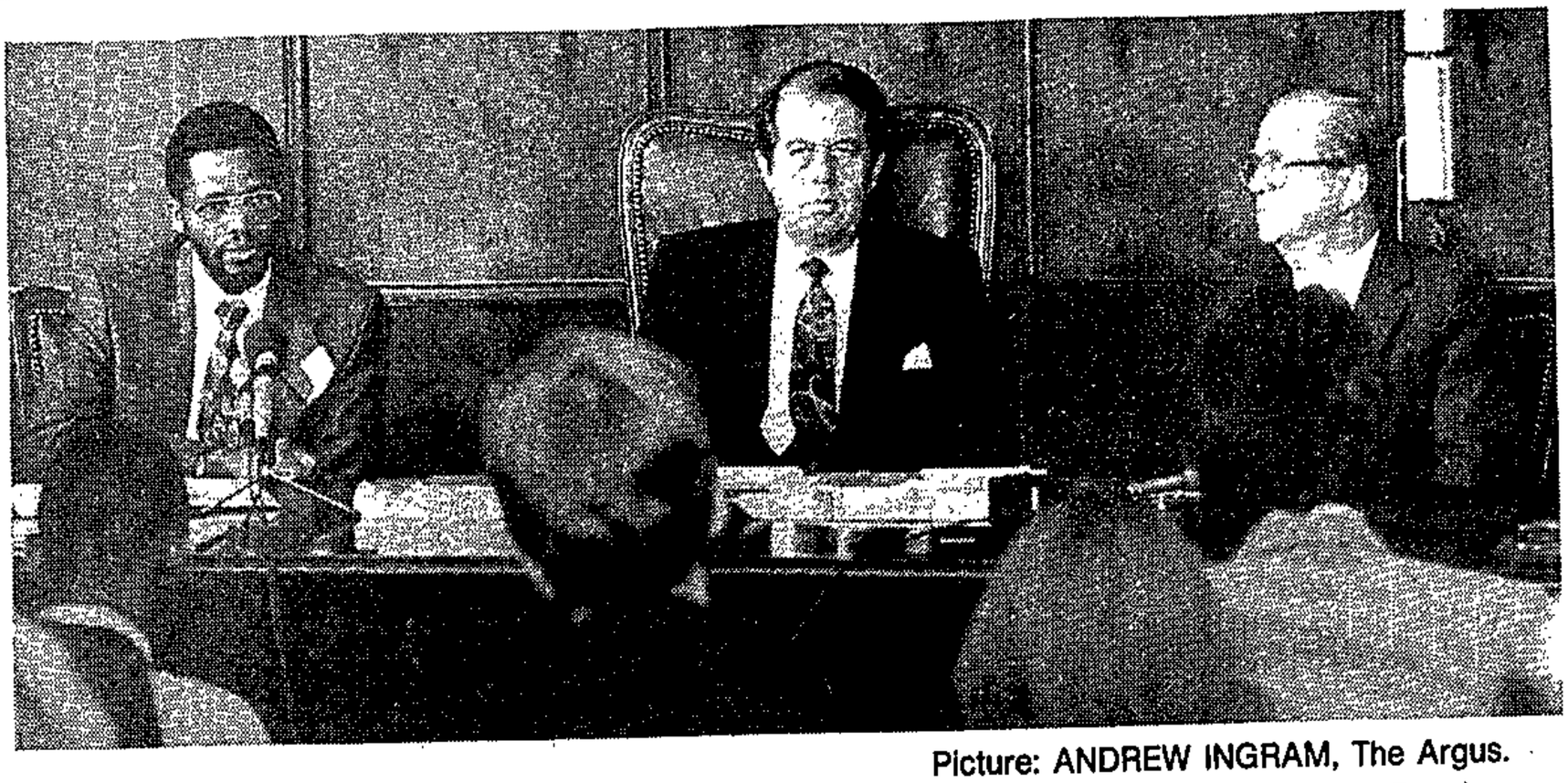
Ms Wentzel concludes: "The SAIRR has spent many years recording, publicising and condemning the violence of the State's security apparatus, the police and vigilante groups.

"Time and again we warned that the violent methods used to enfore apartheid would one day call forth an answering violence.

"Having contributed in no small measure to the overall understanding of how ... violence emerged, the SAIRR believes it must also draw attention to the kinds of attitudes and strategies that are helping perpetuate violence during a time of political liberalisation unprecedented in South Africa's history." □

PARLIAMENT POLITICS

seeks consensus



Picture: ANDREW INGRAM, The Argus.

CP AND CISKEI: Chairman of the Ciskei Military Council Brigadier Oupa Gqoso, left, and Conservative Party leader Dr A P Treurnicht, right, after their talks in Cape Town. CP foreign affairs spokesman Mr Tom Langley is in the centre.

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CP leader 'exploring Commonwealth forum'

ARG 6/2/92

MICHAEL MORRIS Political Correspondent

CONSERVATIVE Party leader Dr Andries Treurnicht has revealed that he is "exploring the possiblity" of a forum with homeland and other leaders to advance the cause of a commonwealth of South African states.

This emerged after "cordial and constructive" talks in parliament yesterday with Ciskei's military ruler Brigadier Oupa Gqozo, Dr Treurnicht's fifth meeting with a homeland leader.

The two men issued a joint statement saying they shared a commitment to self-determination.

Dr Treurnicht said: "We are exploring the possibility (of round table discussions on a commonwealth of self-ruled states), but in the meantime we are trying to find common ground on principles and approaches with other leaders."

He said the CP would not necessarily seek to launch a rival or opposing forum to Codesa, but would welcome a forum of leaders subscribing to the principle of self-determination.

Brigadier Gqozo and Dr Treurnicht told a press conference after their meeting that they both rejected a unitary state in South Africa. While they both supported the concept of a commonwealth of states, Brigadier Gqozo favoured a central government exercising control over items such as the economy and defence in a federation.

Dr Treurnicht endorsed voluntary co-operation on these issues between politically independent states.

Brigadier Gqozo said he and Dr Treurnicht were "bound together" by conservative ideas and values.

It has also emerged that Brigadier Gqozo touched on the "sensitive and topical subject of Codesa" in his talks with the CP leader.

He said he believed that if South Africa was to resolve its problems and achieve a legitimate constitution, it would be necessary to have negotiations representing "each and every group or community".

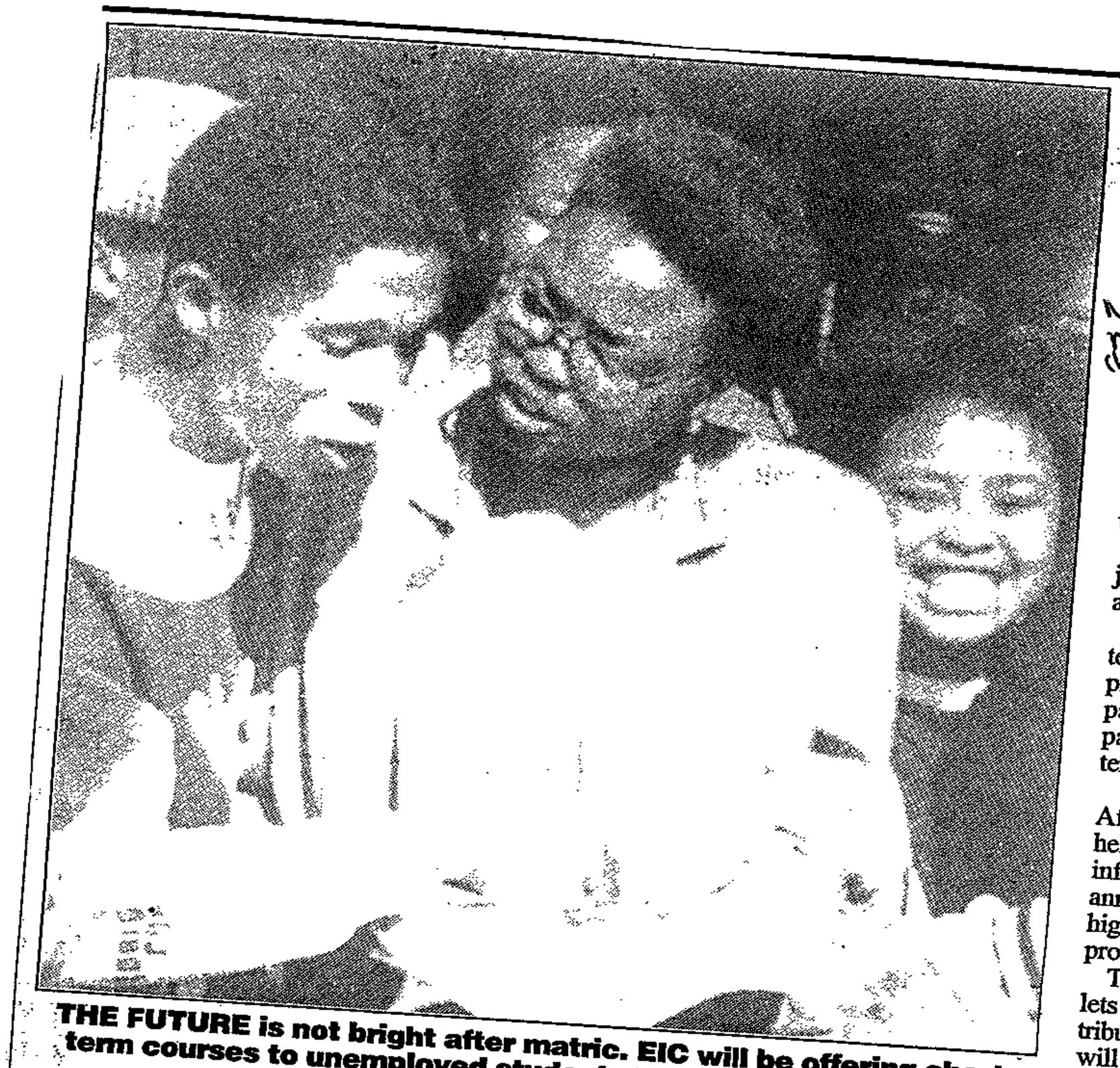
However, he said he respected Dr Treurnicht's concern.

"I respect the fact that there are problems that should be cleared and guarantees that should be addressed to him before he can proudly feel he is part of Codesa ..."

He described his meeting with Dr Treurnicht as "part of the effort by the Ciskei government to close gaps between groups and cultivate a culture of listening to each other".

On Codesa, Brigadier Gqozo said it was "unfortunate" that the perception had been created of the National Party and ANC making secret deals.

He warned that if Ciskei or any other participant was "bulldozed" into an agreement at Codesa without proper negotiation, it would render the process a "failure" and a "farce."



THE FUTURE is not bright after matric. EIC will be offering short-term courses to unemployed students to equip them with skills

Training for unskilled students

New Nation (Learning Nation) 14/2-20/2/92

The Education Information Centre (EIC) announced that it will start a job training programme to alleviate unemployment by equipping students with skills. 305

The courses on offer will be alternatives to university or technikon training.

It is estimated that more than 200 000 black job-seekers, enter the labour market without any skills or training every year.

The EIC introduced a directory of short-term courses for students who could not complete their schooling. It offers full-time and part-time courses for those students who passed matric but could not be admitted at tertiary training institutions or find jobs.

Founded in 1967 as a project of the South African Institute of Race Relations, EIC helped hundreds of high school students with information on bursaries. It also started an annual Winter School to try and address the high failure rate among black matriculants - a problem which is still persisting to this day.

The organisation has printed 45 000 booklets on short courses and these will be distributed throughout targeted areas. The copies will be sold to community organisations and other interested groups.

People wishing to have the booklets may contact the EIC at: (011) 834-7861 or (016) 22-4036.

Unknown people the aggressors - survey

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Sowetan 25/3/92

THE Institute of Race Relations' extensive research into 1 236 incidents of violence between January and August last year indicates that, in 85 percent of the cases, the aggressors could not be identified.

The institute, in its *Race Relations Survey for 1991/92*, said there were widely differing perceptions about who was responsible for the violence that raked the country last year. Various organisations made conflicting claims.

One agency, on the basis of Press reports, blamed the Inkatha Freedom Party for 51 percent of the acts of violence on the Reef over a 12-month period from the middle of 1990 to the middle of 1991. It blamed the police for 23 percent, the ANC for 4 percent and other groups for 22 percent.

On the other hand, a police report on Reef violence, covering the 18 months since February 2 1990, blamed the ANC for 86 percent of attacks when only aggressors could be identified and the IFP for 12 percent of such attacks.

Where both aggressors and victims could be identified, the police blamed the ANC for 56 percent and the IFP for 40 percent.

Other attacks were blamed on the PAC, Azapo and other groups.

The survey quotes the police as saying a "classical arms race" has developed between rival political organisations seeking to ensure their members are well armed.

"Police said that more than 1 230 AK-47 rifles had been seized in 1991 but a private security company said this was a 'drop in the ocean.'

"The Government said that one third of the police force and more than 60 000 South African Defence Force personnel were deployed to stop violence between rival groups of black people."

Major strides to restore rule of law

Sowetan 26/3/92

MAJOR strides towards the restoration of the rule of law and an end to whites-only membership of the National Party signified change during the last year, noted the South African Institute of Race Relations annual survey.

The SAIRR said the Internal Security Act, which provided for indefinite detention without trial on the whim of the police, was amended last year to limit detention to 10 days with longer periods requiring authorisation by a judge.

Major discriminatory laws repealed during the period reviewed by the 1991/92 survey included the Group Areas, Land, and Population Registration Acts.

The just-published survey noted that international television cameras watched State President FW de Klerk as he signed the repealing legislation towards the end of June last year.

Not all South Africans applauded De Klerk's liberalising moves, said the survey.

The Conservative Party commented that structures which had existed for 300 years "have been abolished without any proper thought-out new plan for the future".

Lawyers for Human Rights, however, published a report in November listing 22 apartheid laws which, it said, were still on the statute book, among them the 1983 constitution.

Laws

The survey reported that change was not limited to the repeal of laws.

In October it was reported that at least a quarter of the delegates at the NP's Cape congress were people previously excluded from membership on the grounds that they had been classified coloured.

A month after that the congress of the NP's Transvaal wing was addressed for the first time by an African delegate.

The SAIRR further reported the cause of civil liberties was promoted in 1991/2 by the SA Law Commission which published a draft Bill of Rights in November with a strong emphasis on individual liberty.

The commission emphasised its belief that group rights could be protected only through individual rights.

However, the introduction of the notion of class action would enable a person to go to court on behalf of a whole group. The Government would be barred from supporting schools or private organisations which discriminated on the grounds of race, noted the survey. - *Sapa.*

Changing times in almost new SA

S/Times 29/3/92

THE RACE RELATIONS SURVEY published by the SA Institute of Race Relations

THE SA Institute of Race Relations' monster annual survey gives a better glimpse than almost any other source into the ways we are changing and who we are becoming.

According to one study, we're probably becoming more like Algeria or Hungary — economically, that is.

The study by Professor Servaas van der Berg and Krige Siebrits of the University of Stellenbosch noted: "The output of the SA economy is smaller than that of most cities in industrial countries with populations of five million or more."

Racial barriers, the institute's report reflects, seem to be giving way to class divisions. In another glimpse into the almost new South Africa, the SAIRR quotes an SA Domestic Worker Union report that suggests black madams may be worse employers than white madams. A third of Soweto families employ domestic help and pay as little as R90 a month.

Increasing numbers of whites are working as window-washers, petrol-pump attendants and aircraft cleaners, the survey reports.

In his report for 1990, Police Commissioner General Johan van der Merwe said there had been an 8,53 percent increase in serious crime, the highest rise in 10 years. There were 29 percent more murders in 1990, mainly during township violence — only three percent of all those murdered were whites.

However, white homes were twice as likely to be broken into, and house break-ins increased 20 percent to more than 225 000. In 1990 there were 25 break-ins an hour.

While racism is disappearing, sexism is rising. In 1990, 20 000 women, 95 percent of them black, reported being raped.

While black men, in particular, are breaking into middle management and the boardroom (up from three percent in 1965 to 14 percent in 1989), only 13 percent of management posts are occupied by women. This is despite the fact that one in every three members of South Africa's workforce is a woman.

The management and skilled worker shortage, the survey predicts, is expected to reach 921 000 by 2005.

305

Pessimism

"Assuming the employment of executive and skilled workers is a prerequisite for the creation of jobs, the surplus of semi-skilled and unskilled workers will rise to 11 570 000 by 2005."

The pressures of reform saw the business confidence index drop from 95,7 in 1989 to 92,3 in 1990 to an average of 87,9 between January and November 1991.

One feature of the national psyche that a changing South Africa has not removed is pessimism — the survey reports that studies in December last year revealed that "even if a new constitution was agreed on, 63 percent of whites and 44 percent of blacks expressed concern that it would not bring peace and harmony".

Charlene Smith

Bannings do not make the index

B/Day 30/3/92

RACE RELATIONS SURVEY 1991-92. (SA Institute of Race Relations, R82,49)

THERE is no need to overenthuse about the institute's survey of SA 1991. As in previous years and editions, the survey offers a year of SA at a glance — albeit a long glance.

In changed times, the institute itself has undergone a change in tone and thrust, pursuing if anything a more actively critical role.

Its executive director, John Kane-Berman, has expressed views — on the church and violence, and on mass action — that have earned him the suspicion of the left.

Kane-Berman himself says the institute's critical capacity must be brought to bear as much on what came before as on what is replacing it. The objective is a liberal society.

As for the survey, one might argue whether the comrades who stopped Stompie Seipei's mother from speaking to the Press performed the most significant act of media censorship in 1991.

This said, the survey does its job.

There is scarcely a significant fact missing on the day-to-day proclamations, protests, petitions, killings, sentencings and negotiations that make up the SA of the public domain. (305)

This is the Fodors of political SA.

For those who have come to know the surveys throughout the years, the 1991 edition marks a sea change from the era dominated by chapters on detentions and deaths in police custody.

This year, bannings don't even make the index.

PATRICK BULGER

BOOKS

In-depth review of year's events

U/Man 16/4-23/4/92 305

RACE RELATIONS SURVEY 1991/92 (South African Institute of Race Relations, R82.49)

THE South African Institute of Race Relations has been producing an annual review of issues affecting race relations since 1935. While the publication has its critics, it is fair to say that nothing else provides such an in-depth review of significant developments in the socio-political sphere in a particular year.

The publishers note that the last edition was dated 1989/90 and have taken the mystifying decision to call the present one 1991/92. It should really be called 1990/91 because it covers the developments of 1991 with many 1990 statistics. This is not to say it is out of date: statistics presented in government department annual reports only become available in the following year when the reports are tabled during the parliamentary session.

Not everyone will agree with the analyses of the researchers, but few will dispute that all major developments are covered. Excellent references to the sources of information allow interested people to do their own research into the topics covered.

The latest edition of the *Survey* is as comprehensive and encyclopaedic a guide to the year's socio-political developments as its predecessors have been. From politics to health, the economy to education, religious organisations to housing, the *Survey* provides easy, authoritative access to factual and statistical information about the year 1990/91.

Stephen Heyns

Chance for 8 to spend a year at Harvard

By Kaizer Nyatsumba

Eight black South Africans in their mid-careers are to be given the chance to go to Harvard University for a year to bolster their professional development.

The South African Institute of Race Relations (SAIRR) said on Friday that its Harvard/South Africa Fellowship Programme had made eight grants this year and that it was seeking applicants.

SAIRR bursary director Dennis Venter said that of the eight grants, two were in the area of management development, one in public policy and administration, three in education and one in trade unionism. The other is tenable at the university's faculty of divinity. STAR 15/6/92

Allowance

Mr Venter has invited applications from candidates aged between 30 and 40 and in the middle of their careers.

The fellowship includes all tuition and fees for the period of enrolment, offers a subsistence allowance and covers the cost of a return air ticket.

The closing date for applications is September 30. Applications forms are available from The Harvard/South Africa Fellowship Programme, South African Institute of Race Relations, Box 32597, Braamfontein 2017.

SOWETAN Friday August 28 1992

NEWS

Doubts over 'third force'

305 Sowetan 28/8/92

■ Violence theory discounted:

THE theory of Third Force involvement in the ongoing political violence was discounted yesterday by the director of the South African Institute of Race Relations, John Kane-Berman.

Speaking at a national security conference at the Nasrec complex outside Johannesburg, Kane-Berman said research at the SAIRR suggested a worldwide disinformation campaign on the violence in South Africa.

One of the features of this campaign was the Third Force theory, yet no hard evidence had been produced to prove the existence of a third force.

Suppressed facts

He charged that organisations such as the International Commission of Jurists and the Human Rights Commission suppressed facts about the violence which did not support their theories.

Kane-Berman claimed the objective of the campaign was to give United Nations status to one-sided reports.

These reports tended to point the finger at the hostels and security forces as the causes of violence.

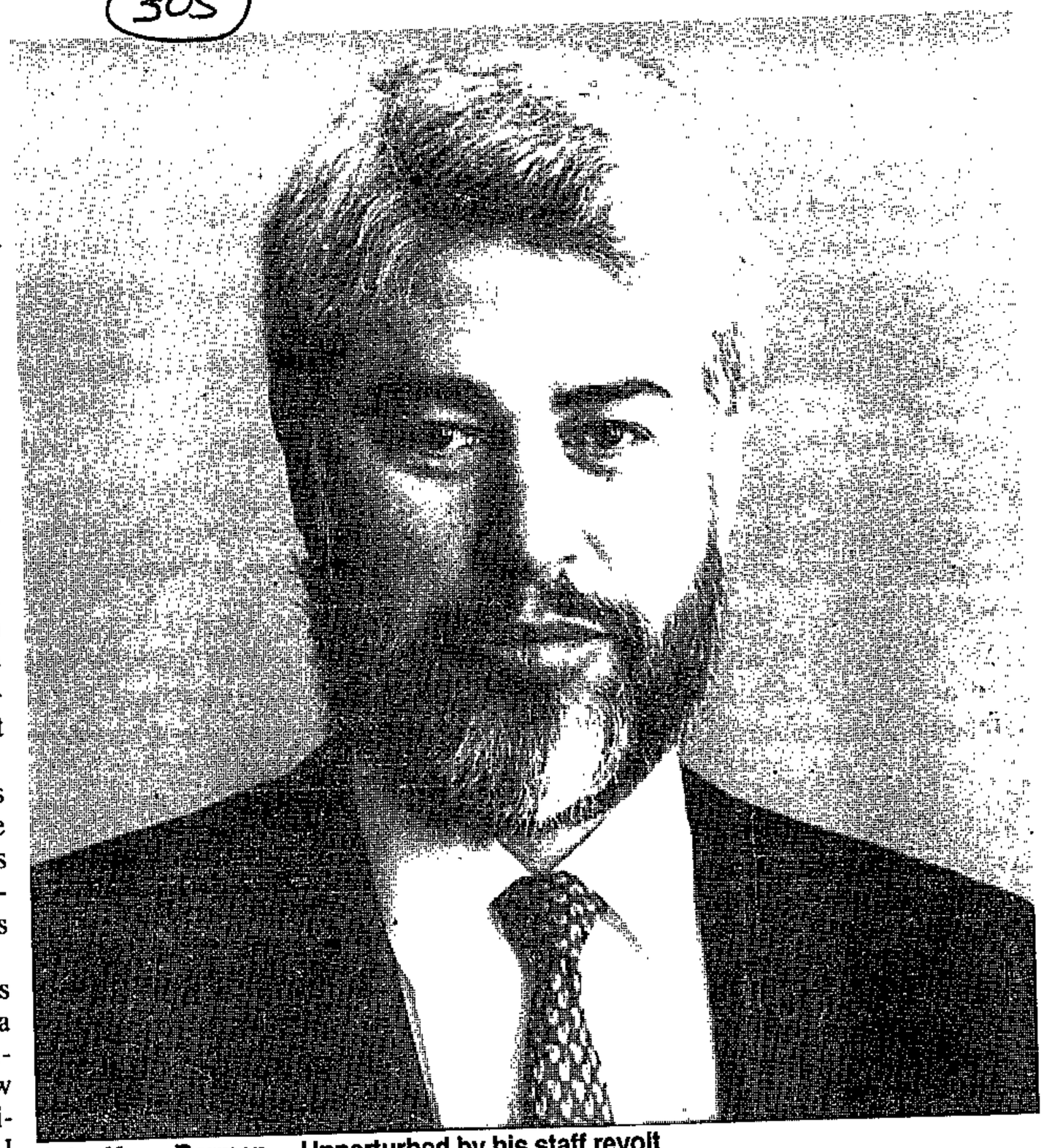
By discrediting and demoralising the security forces, he claimed, these would be put under joint Government and African National Congress control, leaving Umkhonto we Sizwe with a free hand.

He concluded by saying the disinformation campaign was beginning to falter. - *Sapa.*

Institute of troubled relations

w/mail 9/10-15/10/92 (305)

Institute of Race Relations director John Kane-Berman remains resolute as internal dissatisfaction adds to the controversy surrounding his organisation. By **PAUL STOBER**



John Kane-Berman ... Unperturbed by his staff revolt

JOHN KANE-BERMAN, executive director of the South African Institute of Race Relations (SAIRR), is facing a revolt by members of the institute who accuse him of undermining its independence.

In the past fortnight Kane-Berman has had to contend with the resignation of David Gevisser, the SAIRR's national chairman, in protest against recent statements by the institute; has been publicly attacked by a member of the SAIRR's western Cape executive committee; and has received a critical report from members of his research department.

At issue is the perception that in its pronouncements on political violence, the institute is increasingly compromising its neutrality as a research body by conducting an anti-African National Congress crusade.

Kane-Berman is unperturbed by this onslaught on his leadership. "We are a large organisation with a large membership and staff," he said in an interview this week. "There are differences of opinion on a very wide range of issues and I am sure there are divisions. But we are open to debate and frank discussion."

The SAIRR is an internationally respected body which conducts social, economic and political research. Its flagship publication, the annual *Race Relations Survey,* is widely considered the definitive overview of South African society.

The current uproar centres mainly on a special SAIRR violence research unit, and specifically a report by one of its members, Anthea Jeffery, which accused the International Committee of Jurists, Amnesty International and the South African-based Human Rights Commission, of deliberately downplaying the ANC's role in political violence.

Critics see the report as an attempt to discredit the ANC and boost Inkatha claims that it is a victim of ANC-initiated attacks. Allegations of Inkatha bias have plagued Kane-Berman since he took over the SAIRR in 1983.

In a recent interview with *The Weekly Mail,* Kane-Berman denied any special relationship with the Inkatha Freedom Party or anti-ANC bias, saying: "I don't think the institute has changed very much at all in terms of its basic values."

Gevisser refused to be drawn on why he resigned. "Let's just say there were differences of opinion," he said.

Gevisser was a close ally of Kane-Berman when the latter took the helm at the institute, helping him during a difficult and controversial restructuring exercise. Institute insiders say Gevisser resigned in protest against the public stance of the body on a number of politically controversial issues.

A member of the western Cape regional committee of the institute, Professor George Ellis, was more blunt in a letter sent to newspapers two weeks ago. Describing Kane-Berman as partisan on the debate about the existence of a "third force" fanning violence, he said: "Kane-Berman is not only undermining the credibility of the institute, but insofar as he claims there is no evidence for third force activity, he himself becomes part of another disinformation campaign."

Kane-Berman counters that he merely pointed out that there are major flaws in the evidence indicating the government is actively orchestrating political violence through covert channels.

More damning evidence of internal unhappiness is a 23-page critique of the Jeffery report by the institute's researchers. The document concludes: "... this (Jeffery's) work has further undermined our credibility as an independent research organisation. We believe that Jeffery's work is clearly partisan. We also found the press release concerning the report to be unnecessarily provocative, arrogant and antagonistic".

The researchers stressed that they did not have a problem with exposing information that had been ignored or suppressed by other organisations, but they warned: "We believe it would be unwise to ignore such perceptions (of partisanship) on the basis that the claims are made by people or organisations who 'find the truth unpalatable'."

Kane-Berman, who had not seen the researchers' report, continued to defend Jeffery's work this week. "I am convinced it will stand up to any examination," he said.

Rumblings within race institute over report

ARG 10/10/92

JO-ANNE COLLINGE
Weekend Argus Reporter

RESEARCH staff of the South African Institute of Race Relations (SAIRR) have repudiated a recent report, published by the institute, which attacked research on political violence conducted by three high-profile human rights organisations.

Eight SAIRR researchers signed a memorandum, charging that the special research unit within their organisation, which produced the controversial report, was undermining "our image as an independent and objective research organisation".

They have demanded from SAIRR executive director John Kane-Berman increased consultation and a greater role in decision-making.

Although the signatories voiced concern about a number of the unit's reports, they singled out the report by Dr Anthea Jeffery, "Spotlight on disinformation about violence in South Africa", as particularly undermining the credibility of the SAIRR.

"We believe Dr Jeffery's work is partisan. We also found Press releases and presentations concerning the 'Spotlight' to be provocative, arrogant and antagonistic," the memorandum read.

Kane-Berman defended the Jeffery report.

"All the criticisms (of the report) have been very carefully assessed and Dr Jeffery's conclusions have been powerfully vindicated every time," said Kane-Berman.

He argued that the reasons for the attacks on the report had less to do with its actual content than with the fact that the institute was challenging a "conventional wisdom" that violence should be blamed almost completely on the state and its perceived allies.

The signatories concluded that Jeffery could be criticised because, among other things, her arguments were "unsound and based on insufficient and unreliable information".

She made "damning judgments of Amnesty International, the International Commission of Jurists and the Human Rights Commission".

years and older. About 25% live in region E, 21% in region H, 15% in region G (northern Transvaal and Venda) and 14% in region D; and

□ Zulus form the largest ethnic group (3,8m), followed by Xhosas (3,5m), North Sothos (1,7m) and Tswanas (1,6m).

There remains, of course, a numerical correlation between ethnic groups and the regions in which the ethnically based homelands are located. For example, about 78% of Zulus live in region E, which includes KwaZulu. More than half the Xhosas are in region D — Ciskei and most of Transkei.

Almost 69% of North Sothos are in region G (which includes Lebowa) and about 87% of Tswanas are resident in regions B, H and J (in which the largest part of Bophuthatswana is located). The same is noticeable as far as the other ethnic groups are concerned, says the Development Bank.

According to the leaked ANC report, it seems the organisation expects to win 50% of the total vote, with the support of 68% of blacks, 3% of whites, 20% of coloureds and 30% of the Indian vote.

This ties in with an assessment made by the HSRC's Lawrence Schlemmer. Referring to the findings of more than 20 opinion surveys, which included rural polls, he puts the ANC's expected share of the total vote at between 45% and 50%; the NP at 25%-30%; and Mangosuthu Buthelezi's Inkatha Freedom Party at 10%-12%. Smaller parties such as the DP, CP and PAC get the balance and could, therefore, be well-placed to barter and engineer alliances.

These figures suggest that, if the ANC were to get 50% and the NP and Inkatha their lower estimates, the ANC is unlikely to enjoy a two-thirds majority even if all the smaller parties back it.

Government Ministers like Pik Botha (who, as Transvaal NP leader, is spearheading a recruitment drive in black townships) have said that the NP aims to be the biggest party. This is not regarded as likely — but it is not impossible either, particularly if the ANC alliance becomes fragile or hijacked by its communist radicals.

As second prize, however, the NP, alone or with allies, has set itself another very important goal, says SA Foundation researcher Ingrid Uys: to win at least one-third of the vote. That would enable the NP to share the task of writing a new constitution. ■

VIOLENCE — 1 FM 16/10/92 (297)

In search of facts (305)

Early in the Eighties, John Kane-Berman, executive director of the SA Institute of Race Relations, inaugurated a difficult and controversial change in the institute's policy on publications. These would not in future present blacks as passive victims of apartheid but as active players on the political scene.

To that end the institute would run the risk of prosecution by quoting in its publications the statements of banned people. The change earned the publications enhanced international esteem from scholars who had long respected their accuracy and objectivity. But it meant that different criteria applied in evaluating these publications.

Institute researchers did not necessarily have a uniform political outlook. So, to maintain objectivity of institute publications, Kane-Berman had to find a magic formula. The direction he gave researchers was to "write about politically controversial matters in such a way that a reader will be unable to detect your personal viewpoint on politics."

Researchers' contributions to the *Race Relations Survey* carry no bylines; such anonymity was not afforded in the case of Anthea Jeffery's recent *Spotlight on Disinformation about Violence in SA*, also published by the institute. But a magic formula would hardly have been necessary for her.

She had a distinguished academic career at Wits, Cambridge and London; held senior positions at the University of Natal and Wits, before joining the staff of the Urban Foundation; after some years there she moved to her present position with the institute. Her entire career has been a training in objective and cautious expression, in regard to both matters of fact and opinion. She is manifestly not the kind of person who can be talked down.

In this work she sets out her reasons for finding that the International Committee of Jurists and other bodies have played down the ANC's role in political violence.

Some institute researchers and outside legal experts have branded Jeffery's work as clearly partisan. They say it has undermined the credibility of the institute as an independent research organisation.

Kane-Berman has replied that all the criticisms of Jeffery, including those of the researchers, have been carefully assessed and that her conclusions have been powerfully vindicated. He furthermore argues that the reasons for the attacks on the report had less to do with its content than with the institute's challenge to a "strongly held conventional wisdom that violence should be blamed almost completely on the State and its perceived allies."

If Kane-Berman's endorsement of Jeffery is right, the SA Police is working under a serious handicap. It is expected to be impeccable in efforts to keep the peace while the ANC, its chief accuser, is engaging in activities which make the SAP's task one of the utmost difficulty.

The institute's basic conviction is that close and peaceable relations between all the inhabitants of SA are possible, and hence imperative. Since political violence threatens this conviction, it has a unique place in the institute's concerns. Those who kill or maim strike not only at the persons of their victims but at our precarious, fledgling body politic.

Turning back to the 1991/1992 *Survey*: in January 1991, ANC president Nelson Mandela and Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthe-

continue — P.T.O.

Suzman enters row over race institute

(305)

By CHARLENE SMITH

VETERAN politician Helen Suzman has warned that attempts are being made to force the SA Institute of Race Relations to toe a "politically correct" line.

In a letter to members of the institute, of which she is president, she says attacks on a recent research project were the first salvo in a campaign to subject research to some sort of thought control.

Her comments are the latest development in a bitter row which is threatening to engulf the 63-year-old institution.

On the one hand are critics who claim a personality cult has evolved around institute director John Kane-Berman, and that the SAIRR is becoming increasingly partisan in its stance.

On the other are old liberals like Mrs Suzman, who believe the institute is under attack by the left-wing, which wants to censor its research where it would embarrass, for example, the ANC.

Biased

The battle has intensified since the recent issue of a report by Dr Anthea Jeffery of the SAIRR called **Disinformation on Violence in SA**, which maintains that three human-rights organisations, Amnesty International, the International Commission of Jurists and the Human Rights Commission gave "one-sided" reports on violence in South Africa.

In a memorandum to Mr Kane-Berman, eight of the 12 research staff at the institute said Dr Jeffery's report was "partisan, weak on methodology and misleading ... which has further undermined our credibility as a research organisation".

Mr Kane-Berman and Mrs Suzman have, however, defended the report.

Mrs Suzman said in her letter to institute members: "The reasons for the attack on her report and, indeed, on some of the statements the institute has recently been making on violence, have much less to do with their actual content than with the fact that the institute has been challenging a number of strongly held conventional wisdoms, central to which is the view that violence is to be blamed almost exclusively on the state and the Inkatha Freedom Party."

However, support for the eight dissenting researchers — who refused to speak to the Sunday Times — has come from other quarters.

The Rev Mvume Dandala, superintendent of the Central Methodist Church in Johannesburg, who resigned as vice-president of the SAIRR after two years in office, said he felt the institute had strayed from its reputation of presenting facts as fairly as possible.

"What is the institute's mission? Is it to blame, or is it to convert or engage in ways that will make others see the need to change?

"It is increasingly reflecting the views of one personality rather than a collective view, and this has caused some unhappiness." ST Times Key 18/10/92

In an interview, Dr Jeffery rejected allegations of inaccuracies or bias in her report.

She dismissed allegations that the report was biased in favour of Inkatha and said her research had been the result of the analysis of reports, in particular judicial findings.

Dr Jeffery said a key finding in her report was that Amnesty International and the ICJ had ignored the role of ANC strategies of ungovernability in contributing to violence.

THE VIOLENCE FM 23/10/92

Low blows from the Left

An in-house attack on research into the causes of the violence by Anthea Jeffery, a special research consultant at the SA Institute of Race Relations, has demonstrated the deep ideological rift between liberals and ANC sympathisers which evidently exists within the organisation.

That the division is not confined to the research establishment but goes right to the top is evidenced by the recent resignation of the chairman of the executive committee, David Gevisser, who is also executive director of Boumat.

Gevisser declines to say more about the reasons for his resignation other than those already reported — that he had had differences of opinion with institute executive director John Kane-Berman. One theory is that he left because he did not want to be associated with actions by the institute which would have offended the ANC.

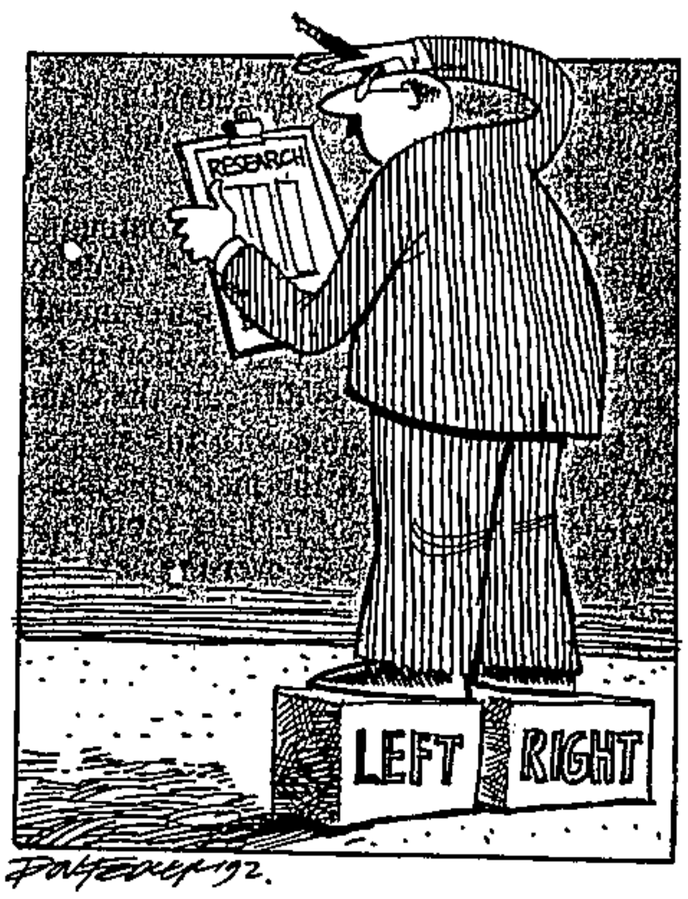
The institute has 12 full-time researchers and about 2 000 individual, institutional and corporate members. It was founded in 1929 and is the oldest anti-apartheid institution in the country. Its annual *Race Relations Survey* and other publications chronicle the evil effects of apartheid on all aspects of society. It is funded mostly by members' subscriptions. Its bursary department also receives overseas funding.

The institute has in recent years established an especially high reputation for the integrity and academic quality of its research; for steadfast opposition to apartheid, even in the days when to oppose the NP government was often to risk arrest; and support of political and economic freedom. This is to a great extent the personal achievement of John Kane-Berman, the executive director since 1983. Preservation of the institute as it stands is therefore an important goal.

The internal struggle at the institute hinges on the fulcrum of SA politics as a whole — whether SA is to achieve political pluralism and a functioning free-market economy, or succumb to self-righteous rule by a single party with a strong Marxist economic leaning, paying only lip service to individual freedom.

Political pluralism implies freedom of speech and acceptance of the basic principle that no single political grouping has a monopoly on wisdom and inherent righteousness. Nor should it demand to be immune from criticism of its policies or actions, or insist on being unchallenged on any claim to be the one true representative movement.

It was in these respects that Jeffery sinned mightily against political correctness by asserting in print that several human rights organisations had in effect absolved the



ANC and its allies of any blame for political violence. Jeffery's criticisms were levelled in the institute publication *Spotlight* for October 1992.

Jeffery's publication, *Spotlight on Disinformation about Violence in SA*, so angered ANC sympathisers within the institute that they leaked to the media a "critique" of 23 pages — a nit-picking document that fails to refute the objective evidence marshalled by Jeffery.

In reply to the leaked criticisms, Jeffery says she repudiates any suggestion that her *Spotlight* purports to defend, or exonerate from responsibility for political violence, Inkatha, the police or government. She adds that she criticised Amnesty International and the other bodies for making unsubstantiated accusations against Inkatha and the police, and for heavily downplaying the ANC alliance's evident contribution to the violence.

The bodies indicted by Jeffery for what amounts to partisan analysis of SA affairs are Amnesty International, the International Commission of Jurists and the Human Rights Commission.

The academic credentials of Jeffery are considerable. She holds BA and LLB degrees from Wits (the latter *cum laude*). To these she has added an LLM from Cambridge and a PhD from London University. She is an advocate of the Supreme Court of SA and a solicitor of the Supreme Court of Judicature in England. She has served as a senior lecturer in law at Natal University, held a senior position with the Urban Foundation and consulted to the HSRC and the Legal Resources Centre.

Helen Suzman, president of the council of the institute, has been driven by this controversy to address a circular to members, stoutly defending Jeffery. Suzman says the *Spotlight* has been assaulted precisely because it says the ANC and its allies must bear some responsibility for the violence. This is a fact "which has been covered up or excused in many instances." She fears this attack on the institute is "the first salvo in a campaign to subject our research on violence to some sort of thought control."

Indeed, says Suzman, pressures for conformity to some sort of politically correct line are building up in many spheres. This is especially ominous as SA is emerging only now from the thought control the Nationalist government for so long sought to impose. She concludes: "The institute did not succumb then and will not do so now."

It is vital for the business community — or those elements which see their future in a cosy relationship with the ANC — to realise that if SA ends up as a one-party state (notwithstanding the ANC's current policy of approving political pluralism) that would be disastrous for business and investment.

Political freedom is not a luxury that can be dispensed with: along with the principle of private property, it is a vital condition for economic freedom. There is no point in appeasing radicals in the hope of a favour. The SA Institute of Race Relations deserves the continued support of the business community, financially and morally, for the work it does, and in particular for its defence of intellectual freedom — without which other freedom is not possible.

Former De Beers and Anglo American chairman Harry Oppenheimer says: "The Institute has, over many years, been a major factor for liberalism in the best sense of that word, and this attitude has been maintained by Kane-Berman in a courageous manner. The institute has always been careful not to take a political line in support of any single party and Kane-Berman has continued this tradition." ■

NEGOTIATIONS FM 23/10/92

Back on the road

A new negotiating strategy is being formulated by government, aimed at bolstering support for a government of national unity and entrenching the "bottom lines" set out by President F W de Klerk in parliament last week.

The plan is expected to include the formation of a high-level negotiating team of Cabinet Ministers and senior officials whose primary function will be to speed up progress towards the resumption of Codesa-style

Suzman Claims Blind Eye Turned To ANC Violence

Guardian [W Cin w/Mail] 30/10 – 5/11/92.

JOHANNESBURG — When it comes to waging lone battles against prevailing doctrine, nobody in South Africa has credentials quite like Helen Suzman.

For 13 years, she was the sole opposition member of Parliament, waging a one-woman assault on the architects of apartheid with speeches that mixed moral indignation with mordant wit. She once dared government officials to visit black townships to see for themselves how bad conditions were there — but cautioned that for their own safety they ought to travel "heavily disguised as human beings."

Now retired from Parliament — but by no means from public life — Suzman, 74, once again finds herself in the middle of the great argument of the day. This time, however, she is inveighing against doctrine to her left, not her right. The shift illustrates how murky the political currents have become in a society struggling to move beyond apartheid with formulas developed when the pitfalls were easier to identify.

Suzman threw her substantial reputation this past week behind charges that human-rights monitoring organizations here and abroad are providing misleading information on the issue of violence. She says these groups deliberately have turned a blind eye to the responsibility that the African National Congress — the nation's largest anti-apartheid organization — bears for the country's political carnage, which is three times deadlier now than it was during the height of apartheid repression.

"Pressures for conformity to some sort of 'politically correct' line are building up in many spheres," Suzman wrote in a response to criticism of a recent study detailing this alleged disinformation campaign. "This is an ominous development because South Africa has only recently begun to emerge from the 'thought control' that the National Party sought for so long to impose."

By Paul Taylor

The study, written by the South African Institute of Race Relations, a 63-year-old research group of which Suzman is president, contended that recent surveys of violence in South Africa by Amnesty International, the International Commission of Jurists, and the South African-based Human Rights Commission placed too much blame on the government and the Inkatha Freedom Party and too little on the ANC.

Such "one-sided" reports "can easily fan the flames of violence," argued the author of the institute study, Anthea Jeffrey. "Those who feel they are constantly and unjustifiably accused of fomenting the violence may feel there is little point in continuing to participate in the peace efforts, or may have difficulty in restraining supporters who feel outraged."

The institute report has drawn widespread criticism, not just from the human-rights organizations it attacks but from the institute's own research staff — eight of whose 12 members sent a memorandum to institute Executive Director John Kane-Berman calling the report "partisan, weak on methodology, and misleading."

Others allege that Kane-Berman, the dominant force within the institute since he became executive director in 1983, commissioned the controversial study as part of a campaign to resurrect the reputation of Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi, to whom Kane-Berman has been close for years.

Once these charges and countercharges started to fly, Suzman, who had aspired to be a hands-off president — "My only real job is to give the annual presidential address" — decided she had no choice but to jump into the fray. She reviewed all the claims and, in a letter that went out this past week to institute members, came down heavily on the side of the institute report. Its findings "have been vindicated every time," she wrote.

"Unfortunately, it has become fashionable in liberal circles to make excuses for the ANC, to say, oh well, they were in exile for so long, or they were fighting a wicked regime," Suzman said in an interview at her home. "As far as I'm concerned, you can't exonerate the state for the violence, you can't exonerate Inkatha, but you can't exonerate the ANC either; the real problem now is that violence has become so ingrained that even if the leaders wanted to stop it, I'm not sure they could. There are too many avengers, too many criminals, too many local warlords. Maybe you could have stopped it in the mid-1980s, when it first got out of hand, but I'm not sure you can now."

In the explanation that Suzman and the institute report embrace, a principal trigger of the violence has been the coercion, intimidation, and vigilantism of ANC supporters as they try to make the townships "ungovernable" by closing schools, boycotting stores, waging strikes, withholding rents, and threatening homeland leaders. Blacks who do not want to go along with such tactics are branded collaborators.

In the version subscribed to by most human-rights groups, the principal cause of violence has been the vigilantism of the black puppets of the apartheid regime, who have used strong-arm tactics to repress legitimate political dissent.

In her presidential address this summer, Suzman warned that unless the violence ends soon, allowing a stalled economy to start producing jobs again, "whoever does inherit this country, be it an ANC government or any other, will inherit a wasteland, an ungovernable country inhabited by millions of undisciplined youths to whom a culture of democracy is meaningless."

THE VIOLENCE

Still no angels

The argument continues over the causes of political violence and the SA Institute for Race Relations document by special research consultant Anthea Jeffery. She has defended herself vigorously against the attacks on her analysis by a group of researchers within the institute, which leaked a 23-page extract from Jeffery's work to *The Weekly Mail* (*Current Affairs* October 29).

The immediate issue at dispute is whether — as Jeffery has argued — Amnesty International, the International Commission of Jurists (ICJ) and the Human Rights Commission (HRC) have issued partisan reports heaping blame for the violence on the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) and police, while ignoring any suggestion that the ANC and its allies might bear co-responsibility. This is not the same at all as arguing (which Jeffery did not) that the IFP, for example, is innocent.

Flaws and inaccuracies

The inhouse critics at the institute were joined by Dennis Davis, director of the Institute for Applied Legal Studies, and advocate Gilbert Marcus, in an article in *The Star* on September 22. Institute director John Kane-Berman says their article contains serious flaws and inaccuracies.

Notably, Davis and Marcus accuse Jeffery of omitting a passage from an analysis by the HRC of the Crossroads massacre. This the HRC attributed to "vigilante-related action" (defined as attacks by, or in defence against, surrogate forces of the State, in the form of vigilante private armies formed by homeland administrations or black local authorities).

But, says Kane-Berman, Jeffery reproduced this passage, almost verbatim and drawn from an HRC report (entitled *Area Repression Report* for April 1992) on page 43 of the October *Spotlight* in which her analysis appeared.

Davis and Marcus refer to opinion surveys "confirming the high proportion of black people in metropolitan areas who have been coerced into consumer boycotts, stayaways and rent boycotts." These surveys also de-

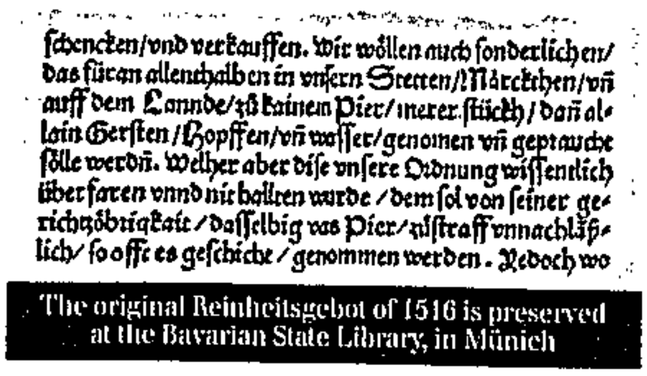
* continue

P.T.O.

THE FIRST BEER BREWED ACCORDING TO THE LAW.

Namibia Breweries were the first brewery in Southern Africa to brew according to the *Reinheitsgebot**, the German Purity Law of 1516.

This law states that beer should be brewed from nothing other than barley malt, hops and water. It is the oldest of food laws anywhere in the world and safeguards the purity and quality standards for "German beer" drinkers throughout the world.



schencken/vnd verkauffen. Wir wöllen auch sonderlichen/ das füran allenthalben in vnsern Steten/Märckthen/vñ auff dem Lannde/zů kainem Pier/merer stückh/dañ allain Gersten/Hopffen/vñ wasser/genomen vñ gepraucht sölle werdñ. Welher aber dise vnsere Ordnung wissentlich überfaren vnnd nit hallten wurde/dem sol von seiner gerichtzöbrigkait/dasselbig vas Pier/zůstraff vnnachläßlich/so offt es geschicht/genommen werden. Jedoch wo

The original Reinheitsgebot of 1516 is preserved at the Bavarian State Library, in Münich

To ensure that our beers adhere to this law, our German brewmaster uses only the finest imported barley malt, selected hops and water.

And, in accordance with the law he doesn't substitute any of these pure ingredients with adjuncts such as maize, rice or sugar.

There are quicker and more cost-saving methods of brewing but these often result in a compromise in the quality of a beer.

It is through our commitment to this purity law that our beers have a truly unique character – full bodied with a mildly bitter, well balanced flavour and subtle, yet distinct, hops aroma.

Such is the cost of brewing in this purist fashion that "German style" beers are a luxury in many parts of the world. In South Africa we are more fortunate.

*PRONOUNCED *RHINE-HEIGHTS-GEBOT*



Liberty is never cheap

ST Times 22/11/92. (305)

CHARLES SIMKINS says those concerned with the use and abuse of political power must expect storms from new directions

THE importance of civil society as a check on abuses of state power has been emphasised in recent national and international debates. Voluntary associations form a major part of civil society. Some of them concentrate on research into social issues and policy debate.

The SA Institute of Race Relations has worked in this field since its inception in 1929. Its entire work is designed to promote public awareness and debate. In so doing, it expresses its commitment to a vision of SA as an open society, in which political life is driven by active and informed citizens, rather than by a narrow elite of politicians and officials. It has never functioned as a secretive think-tank for special interests. Nor will it.

Chief among its achievements has been the publication of 55 annual Race Relations Surveys. It also publishes individually authored research reports and conference papers on particular themes. Over the years, the institute has built up a reputation for work of high quality. This is achieved through a painstaking system of quality control.

Many people are willing to support the idea of civil society watchdogs in principle. But watchdogs have to bark, and when they do, attitudes can change dramatically. In its early days, the institute was a liberal critic of the policies of the Hertzog and Smuts governments. In those days, it laboured to shed light on little understood issues as SA society was transformed by urbanisation and industrialisation.

After 1948, tension between the institute and the government increased. The institute criticised repeatedly assaults on civil liberties and the cruelties of apartheid policies. A number of institute members were banned without trial during the four decades in which the Internal Security Act was in operation.

The institute was also subjected to inquiry from the Schlebusch Commission in the early 1970s.

Some have suggested that in the light of the liberalisation of recent years and the expected transition to democratic rules based on universal franchise, the work of the institute has come to an end. If only it were so!

But the price of liberty is eternal vigilance; abuses of state power and poor social conditions are to be found even in the best of democracies. And the quality of our coming democracy is far from assured. It will have to be struggled for.

What is certain is that large changes in the social and economic system have taken place over the last 20 years. These have been well documented in executive director John Kane-Berman's book **The Silent Revolution**. Change in the distribution of political power is an inevitable consequence. Those, like the institute, concerned with its use and abuse must learn to expect storms from new directions.

Given the institute's history and its continuing determination to analyse tough issues, it was no new experience for it to find itself involved in controversy over the release of a recent report on violence. As has happened before, the study has been accused of partisanship and distortion of the facts. Neither is true. The report indicates how alarmingly widespread the responsibility for violence is. Indeed, a year ago, Kane-Berman told a conference in Germany that the ANC, IFP, PAC and SAP all have bloody hands.

The quality of the recent report has been demonstrated by the capacity of the author to reply to all the criticisms made of her methods and findings. Further studies on the topic of violence — now widely acknowledged to be a crucial determinant of the prospects for political negotiation — will be published in due course.

What of the future? The institute will continue to monitor political developments closely, with an eye on the prospects for the emergence of a liberal democratic system. Important is the degree of independence of civil society from party political mobilisation. The conditions for free political choice also need close study and proposals need to be generated to maximise this freedom. Developmental issues will continue to receive institute attention. Given the political and economic travails of semi-developed countries as they struggle with poverty and oppression, there remain important battles to be fought.

● *Professor Simkins is chairman of the SA Institute of Race Relations' executive committee.*

news in brief

Chikane assures whites

SOUTH African Council of Churches general secretary the Reverend Frank Chikane yesterday assured white South Africans they would not be victimised by the majority in a new democratic constitution.

Speaking in Durban at a breakfast conference organised by Diakonia's Socio-political Development Programme, Chikane said: "We will go to prison again, we will die again if any person gets victimised because of colour or for any reason that contradicts our commitment to justice."

Churches would take the same stand they took in the fight against apartheid if victimisation by a future government came to the fore.

Blacks 'still bear brunt of hardship

BLACKS continued to bear the brunt of social and economic hardships throughout 1992, the SA Institute of Race Relations said in its latest report.

A compilation of statistics by the institute contained a "chilling reminder" that blacks suffered more than other population groups from political and criminal violence and economic decline.

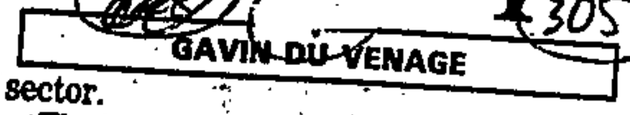
The institute said racial imbalances were still evident in key areas such as education, employment prospects, housing, public amenities and health care.

Education statistics showed, for instance, that 1991/92 racial per capita state expenditure on school education was: blacks R1 248; coloureds R2 701 and whites R4 448.

More than 1,7-million children aged between six and 17 were not in school, and only 41% of blacks passed matric, compared with 96% of white pupils.

While black enrolment at technical colleges had increased 230%, they still only made up a quarter of the student population at technical colleges in 1992.

Employment prospects for black matriculants in 1993 were bleak, with predictions that the only sector offering job opportunities next year will be the informal sector.


GAVIN DU VENAGE

The institute quoted National Manpower Commission figures showing that there were about 5,4-million people without formal employment in 1991.

Of these, about 2,5-million to 3-million earned a living in the informal sector, while similar numbers were unemployed.

Black incomes continued to lag far behind those of whites, with 58% of black households earning below R700 a month and 51% of white households earning more than R4 000 a month.

Overall, 66% of the black population and 50% of the total population lived below the poverty datum line, the institute said.

Between 3,5-million and 10-million people were currently living in informal settlements and backyard shacks and, to eliminate the housing backlog, 198 000 new houses were needed each year for the next 10 years, the report said.

In 1992 there were 604 000 beds in hostels, but estimates were that in some hostels there were up to six residents per bed.

The institute added that 23-million blacks had no access to domestic electricity, 4-million people have minimal water supply, and 7-million had little or no sanitation.

ANC, PAC slated

SAIRR

1993 - 1997

A mood of commonsense

305
FM 26/3/93

RACE RELATIONS SURVEY 1992/1993 *(SA Institute of Race Relations, 708pp, R93,50).*

The title of the book is enigmatic, just as the name of the institute has become faintly confusing. Does "race relations survey" refer to a survey of race relations? Or does the "race relations" in the title refer to the institute, in the sense that this is the institute's survey of SA, and therefore goes beyond areas that can be said to be purely racial?

One suspects the latter, given the enormous detail that is provided on the social, political and economic life of the country. So this is much more than a survey of race relations.

So much has changed in SA in recent years, and so quickly, that we tend to think only of the constant uncertainty. We forget about the substance of change. With detachment and relentless attention to detail, the survey sets out what happened in 1992. In some areas the detail is presented almost on a day-to-day basis, yet the treatment is never pedantic. What emerges is a picture of a country so complicated that any simple analysis, originating from whatever notch in the ideological spectrum, is bound to be wrong.

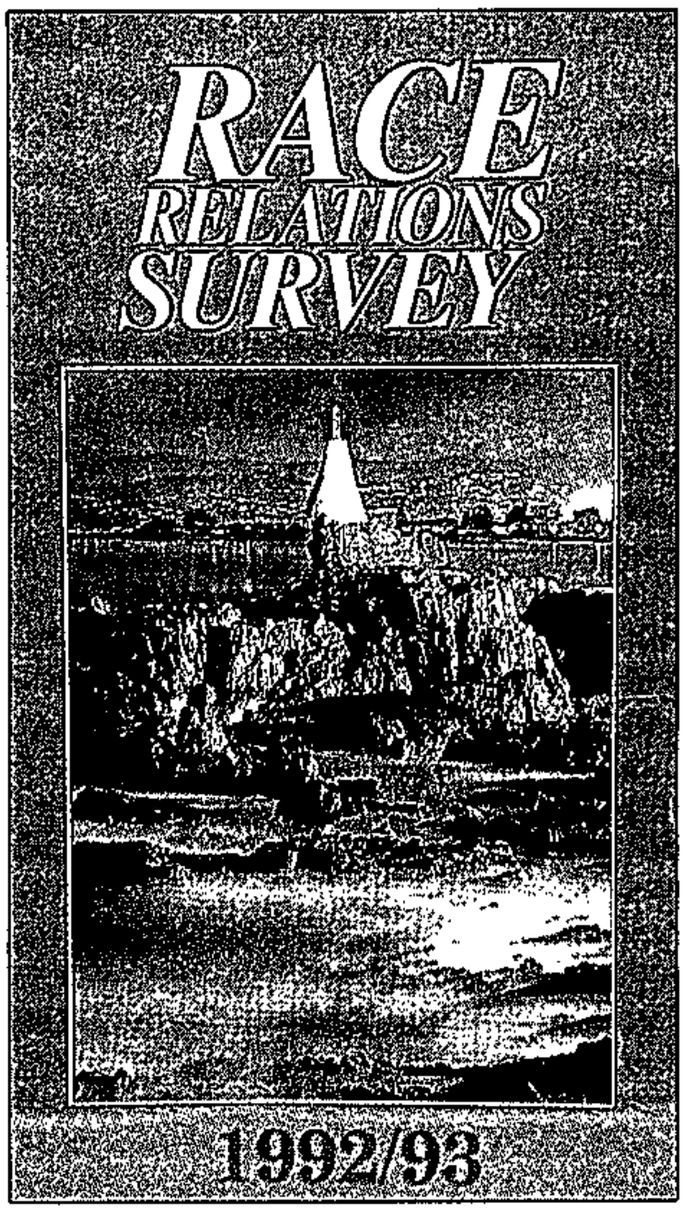
The main subheadings are business, security, environment, employment, housing and urbanisation, population, health and welfare, labour relations, land and agriculture, political developments, constitutional change, the economy and education. In the education section, the matter-of-fact narration of the chaos in black schools is more horrifying than any lurid headline could be — and there is no other single source which contains the wealth of information that is available here.

An endearingly human touch among all the facts appears in a note to the reader on page 72: "As the Synopsis and Update is shorter than expected, pages 73 to 100 have not been used and have, therefore, been omitted." The editors of most institutional publications, having set aside so many pages to be printed after the rest of the book was finished, would feel bound to fill them — to allow the words to expand to use the space available. Here the pages are simply left out — a vivid illustration of the mood of sheer commonsense that pervades the book.

It comes as something of a surprise to see in these pages that 1992 was a year of repeated commitment by the NP government to a nonracial election. With the hindsight offered by the *Survey*, it is clear that the ANC's decision to break off talks with government because of the Boipatong massacre was destructive — yet also unavoidable, given the mood of the time.

Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer announced in September that "government was preparing legislation to reabsorb the powers and functions of the administrations of the six non-independent homelands and the four 'independent' homelands." One wonders what has happened to this legislation: has it been abandoned, or is government waiting patiently for the right moment?

The middle of 1992 was a time of international breakthroughs that we now take for granted. In August, SA "opened four new missions, extending its presence in the former Soviet Union and breaking new ground in the Far East." Pik Botha, Nelson Mandela and Mangosuthu Buthelezi were among



SA leaders who addressed the UN Security Council in July.

Also in July, the ANC finally approved our return to international sport in the form of the Olympic Games; soccer tours to SA by Crystal Palace and Cameroon; and rugby tours by the Wallabies and the All Blacks. The *Survey* goes on to mention the controversy which resulted when Transvaal rugby boss Louis Luyt ordered the national anthem to be played at Ellis Park, before the Test match between the Springboks and All Blacks.

This brings us to the major weakness of this *Survey*: apart from the events in the previous paragraph and a brief mention of our participation in the cricket World Cup, the political and social aspects of sport are completely ignored.

It is difficult to understand this glaring omission, unless it can be put down simply to a lack of imagination among the researchers. In the years of darkest apartheid — the Thirty Years' War between 1960 and 1990 — sport was invariably an accurate reflection of society.

In the Sixties, when Verwoerdian apartheid was at its most arrogant and inflexible, an All Blacks rugby tour was actually cancelled because the Nats could not accept a team which might include Maoris.

In the Seventies, when the inherent contradictions of apartheid began to expose the granite edifice as a cardboard shanty, Piet Koornhof's tortuous sports policy was a mirror to the confused groping of the Nats. They knew their policy would not work, but they did not know what to put in its place, so they muddled along and became ridiculous. There was actually a "multinational" soccer tournament in 1974 at the Rand Stadium in Johannesburg, with four teams representing the white, coloured, Indian and black "nations." The event was such a painful joke that within four years sport was multiracial at club level.

In the Eighties the Nats under P W Botha tried to break with apartheid but succeeded only in entrenching it with the tricameral constitution. Sport might have been multiracial, but the favoured games of whites — cricket and rugby — preferred to defy the boycott with rebel tours, rather than identify clearly with the victims of apartheid. But when the early tentative contacts were made with the ANC, cricket and rugby administrators were among the first to travel.

When President F W de Klerk began his courageous and sweeping reforms at the start of the Nineties, cricket under Ali Bacher also risked alienating conservative support by placing its future in the hands of the ANC. Rugby, on the other hand, seemed to reflect the fears and resentments of whites who thought De Klerk was going too far too fast — or was just plain wrong. Now rugby appears finally to have accepted the new order, just like those whites who were forced finally to accept reality when De Klerk called his 1992 referendum.

Now both sports have development programmes which are important agents in fostering social stability in the townships, in sensitising whites to the legacy of deprivation and in breaking down bitterness. These programmes touch the lives of thousands of families. The cricket tours here by India, Pakistan and the West Indies have been an important safety valve, as well as a lesson in the achievement of tolerance.

There is no comprehensive account of what is happening in the vital interaction between sport and society — and only the SA Institute of Race Relations has the capacity to provide one, by means of its otherwise excellent annual *Survey*. Much the same applies to the arts, which are hardly mentioned in this edition. The seemingly imminent demise of the Natal Performing Arts Council, for instance, is the kind of development that deserves searching examination by the *Survey*.

David Williams

CINEMA

From hero to hubcap

Hoffa **directed by Danny DeVito.**

Painted on an enormous canvas, this portrait of the great but controversial labour leader Jimmy Hoffa has an acidic but ultimately confusing impact. Were one to compare it with Oliver Stone's meretricious *JFK*, it has a gritty honesty with a clear ring of truth. We believe in these people, their struggles and ugly compromises.

Yet even the superb Jack Nicholson — so immersed in the role that he seems to leap from the screen to clutch our throats with his passion — cannot resolve the enigma of Hoffa. Was he, as he constantly claimed, the friend of the working man; or was he a cynical thug? David Mamet's script appears to aim at an almost Shakespearian ambiguity of motive and illusion — but in practice one has an overlong and cumbersome vehicle.

The film relies on flashbacks, a laboured device which generally works counter to the spirit of clean narrative flow which, ideally, is the gift and promise of the cinema.



Nicholson as Hoffa ... *impetus and power*

DeVito — normally an able director — has attempted to humanise the drama by telling a story of friendship, that between Hoffa and the small-time truck driver, played by DeVito himself, who befriends the great man and is with him to the end. Yet we never really grasp the full dimensions of these men's characters: their wives and women are shadowy figures in the background; why they act and believe as they do remains unexamined.

Hoffa is obviously a lengendary figure in America; here he is probably unknown to most. He emerged as a tough union organiser in the Thirties — masterminding the creation of the Teamsters — and ultimately became involved in murky deals with the Mafia, making an enemy of Robert Kennedy, before disappearing in mysterious circumstances in the mid-Seventies. (I am unable to find any encyclopaedic reference to this event — but I do recall one mobster testifying that Hoffa had been reduced to "a goddamn hubcap.")

The film simply avoids the complexities of these developments. Where it succeeds brilliantly is in brief, almost symbolic, episodes which DeVito captures in full, ironic detail. One such is the scene in which Hoffa and the Mafia go off into the woods to discuss pillaging the Teamsters' pension funds. They are purportedly on a hunting trip, but this is a cover — until DeVito, eyeing a deer, abruptly pulls out his pistol and blows the animal away. A profoundly memorable incident, this.

The public framework of the tale — the hearings conducted by Robert Kennedy and so on — have a documentary authority, but, in truth, the film is almost single-handedly carried by Nicholson. His performance generates its own impetus and power; he is, surely, the greatest living character actor in cinema. For this reason alone, *Hoffa* is well worth seeing: but the arcana of union politics, and Mob influence, are subordinated to the heroic central performance. DeVito cannot quite be taken altogether seriously as an actor.

Above all, the film is too long to be excused for its political murkiness. *Peter Wilhelm*

CRICKET

Casting the first stone

Craig Matthews, the Western Province captain, said that Mandy Yachad, the Transvaal batsman, had put a foot on the boundary rope when taking the catch which dismissed Brian McMillan. Yachad said he had not. It is possible that Yachad's foot touched the rope and that he was not aware of this. Matthews, an experienced cricketer, doubtless admits of such a possibility and probably regrets the emotional remarks he made immediately after the unexpected Benson & Hedges defeat for Province.

It is the kind of dispute that arises all the time in cricket. Like rugby, it is a fast game — so fast that even the players involved with the action at a particular time are not sure what happened, let alone the umpire or referee.

Cricketers argue most furiously about catches. Did the ball touch the bat or the hand or did it nick the pad instead? Did the ball carry to the fielder? Did the fielder, in diving for the ball, ground it?

There are fewer arguments about the other forms of dismissal. At top level, in SA at any rate, the TV replay is often available to decide whether a batsman has been run out or stumped. Without the replay, the umpire must decide, just as he must when there is an appeal for LBW. The players may bitch at a decision that has gone against them, but this is mostly gamesmanship and grandstanding. Everyone knows that cricket is not a simple game — unlike soccer, for instance — and that many umpiring decisions fall into a grey area. Umpires will make mistakes.

But when it comes to catching, the players can help the umpire. The batsman can walk if he knows that his bat touched a ball which was caught behind. In this way, he can preempt or overrule an umpire's "not out" decision. The fielder who knows the ball bounced before he caught it can call back the batsman. And it is important to remember that, while an umpire's decision is final as far as everyone else is concerned, the umpire himself may change it — as long as this is done promptly.

As we all know, sometimes the players help the umpire in deciding on a catch and sometimes they don't. There is a view that if a batsman has to suffer from bad LBW and caught-behind decisions, why should he not accept a bad decision when it benefits him?

There is a lot of merit in this argument. After all, would a rugby centre confess a late tackle to the referee and request a penalty against his side? Would a soccer striker who had handled the ball ask the referee to cancel his goal? Of course not. The fact that some cricketers are honest in such matters gives rise to a variation of Dr Johnson's teaching on the subject of dogs walking on their hind legs or women preaching. The wonder is not that so few players are honest, but that there is honesty at all.

The romantic view that a batsman should always walk if he knows he is out is unrealistic. This would only make sense if fielding sides also unfailingly displayed such a sense of honour. They don't, of course. Grounded catches are held up in triumph as the real thing; wicketkeepers hit the stumps with a glove that is not holding the ball and still claim the runout; bowlers appeal for LBW and caught-behind when they know very well the batsman is not out.

There are conspiracies between bowlers and behind-the-wicket fielders to appeal in unison on a given signal. Attempts are made to intimidate umpires by screaming repeated appeals, each followed by expressions of agonised outrage, until success is achieved. Can you blame a batsman for not walking?

And yet it is part of the strange beauty of cricket that even with the temptations of

New housing strategy urged

Let poor live in city centres

■ Race Relations Institute report backs viewpoint of civics:

By Joshua Raboroko

SOUTH Africa's cities should be restructured to enable poor people to live close to their centres, the Institute of Race Relations says.

In its 1992-93 survey on housing and urbanisation, the institute points out that civic associations are also urging that land for the poor be found close to city centres.

The survey reports on a number of innovative initiatives which concentrate on existing housing stock in the inner city areas of Johannesburg, Cape Town and Durban.

Turning to housing delivery, the survey emphasises the need for a clearly articulated housing policy, a single housing department, community participation, access to credit and building advice, and investment in public infrastructure.

According to one estimate recorded in the survey, 550 houses at an average price of R20 000 for a house and stand need to be built every day to eradicate the 1,8 million backlog by the year 2020. This would involve an investment of R11 million in low-cost housing each day.

Against this, the survey reports that the Government has provided only about 3 000 houses in the last two years, while a sample 101 builders surveyed in 1991 built fewer than 25 houses in that year. Some 75 percent of the builders surveyed had built fewer than 100 houses.

Builders interviewed believe that the factors inhibiting the provision of low-cost housing were current interest rates, political uncertainty, political unrest, bond boycotts, and the limited availability of mortgage bonds.

The survey records a certain amount of progress during 1991-92 in the provision of formal and informal housing by non-profit utility companies, for example:

- The Independent Development Trust financed more than 100 site-and-service schemes, providing serviced sites for some 700 000 people countrywide;
- The South African Housing Trust provided finance for more than 100 housing projects, including the provision of some 10 000 formal houses and as many serviced sites; and
- The New Housing Group — initiated by the Urban Foundation — provided more than 200 residential stands, 3 000 serviced sites and 5 000 starter homes.

According to official estimates, some 3,6 million people are living in informal settlements countrywide, but the



ELECTED: Political scientist Professor Hermann Giliomee.

Giliomee new Race Relations president

(305) CT 22/8/95

WELL-KNOWN political scientist Professor Hermann Giliomee has been elected president of the South African Institute of Race Relations for a two-year term.

Prof Giliomee is senior lecturer in political studies at the University of Cape Town. He has previously held fellowships at Yale, Cambridge, the Hebrew University and the Smithsonian Institution in Washington DC.

Dr Enos Mabuza and Prof Themba Sono were elected vice-presidents of the institute. — Sapa

No. R. 134 **29 January 1993**

LABOUR RELATIONS ACT, 1956

STOREKEEPING TRADE: RE-ENACTMENT OF AGREEMENT

I, Leon Wessels, Minister of Manpower, hereby—

(a) in terms of section 48 (1) (a) of the Labour Relations Act, 1956, declare that the provisions of the Agreement which appears in the Schedule hereto and which relates to the Undertaking, Industry, Trade or Occupation referred to in the heading to this notice, shall be binding, with effect from the date of publication of this notice and for the period ending 30 September 1993, upon the employers' organisation and the trade union which entered into the said Agreement and upon the employers and employees who are members of the said organisation or union; and

(b) in terms of section 48 (1) (b) of the said Act, declare that the provisions of the said Agreement, excluding those contained in clauses 1 (1) (a), 2 and 3, shall be binding, with effect from the date of publication of this notice and for the period ending 30 September 1993, upon all employers and employees, other than those referred to in paragraph (a) of this notice, who are engaged or employed in the said Undertaking, Industry, Trade or Occupation in the areas specified in clause 1 of the said Agreement.

L. WESSELS,
Minister of Manpower.

305

SCHEDULE

INDUSTRIAL COUNCIL FOR THE STOREKEEPING TRADE

AGREEMENT

in accordance with the provisions of the Labour Relations Act, 1956, made and entered into by and between

The South African Association for The Storekeeping Trade (incorporating the Witwatersrand Chamber of Reef Trade)

(hereinafter referred to as the "employers" or the "employers' organisation"), of the one part, and

The Concession Stores and Allied Trades Assistants' Union

(hereinafter referred to as the "employees" or the "trade union"), of the other part,

being the parties to the Industrial Council for the Storekeeping Trade.

1. SCOPE OF APPLICATION OF AGREEMENT

(1) The terms of this Agreement shall be observed in the Storekeeping Trade—

(a) by all employers who are members of the employers' organisation and by all employees who are members of the trade union;

(b) in the Magisterial Districts of Benoni, Boksburg, Brakpan, Germiston, Highveld Ridge, Johannesburg, Kempton Park, Klerksdorp, Krugersdorp, Nigel, Oberholzer, Potchefstroom, Randfontein, Roodepoort, Springs, Vereeniging and Westonaria.

(2) Notwithstanding the provisions of subclause (1), the terms of this Agreement shall only apply in respect of employees for whom wages are prescribed in clause 4.

No. R. 134 **29 Januarie 1993**

WET OP ARBEIDSVERHOUDINGE, 1956

WINKELHANDEL: HERBEKRAGTIGING VAN OOREENKOMS

Ek, Leon Wessels, Minister van Mannekrag, verklaar hierby—

(a) kragtens artikel 48 (1) (a) van die Wet op Arbeidsverhoudinge, 1956, dat die bepalings van die Ooreenkoms wat in die Bylae hiervan verskyn en betrekking het op die Onderneming, Nywerheid, Bedryf of Beroep in die opskrif by hierdie kennisgewing vermeld, met ingang van die datum van publikasie van hierdie kennisgewing en vir die tydperk wat op 30 September 1993 eindig, bindend is vir die werkgewersorganisasie en die vakvereniging wat genoemde Ooreenkoms aangegaan het en vir die werkgewers en werknemers wat lede van genoemde organisasie of vereniging is; en

(b) kragtens artikel 48 (1) (b) van genoemde Wet, dat die bepalings van die genoemde Ooreenkoms, uitgesonderd dié vervat in klousules 1 (1) (a), 2 en 3 met ingang van die datum van publikasie van hierdie kennisgewing en vir die tydperk wat op 30 September 1993 eindig, bindend is vir alle ander werkgewers en werknemers as dié genoem in paragraaf (a) van hierdie kennisgewing wat betrokke is by of in diens is in genoemde Onderneming, Nywerheid, Bedryf of Beroep in die gebiede in klousule 1 van die genoemde Ooreenkoms gespesifiseer.

L. WESSELS,
Minister van Mannekrag.

BYLAE

NYWERHEIDSRAAD VIR DIE WINKELHANDEL

OOREENKOMS

ooreenkomstig die Wet op Arbeidsverhoudinge, 1956, gesluit deur en aangegaan tussen

The South African Association for The Storekeeping Trade (waarby die Witwatersrand Chamber of Reef Trade ingelyf is)

(hierna die "werkgewers" of die "werkgewersorganisasie" genoem), aan die een kant, en

The Concession Stores and Allied Trades Assistants' Union

(hierna die "werknemers" of die "vakvereniging" genoem), aan die ander kant,

wat die partye is by die Nywerheidsraad vir die Winkelhandel.

1. TOEPASSINGSBESTEK VAN OOREENKOMS

(1) Hierdie Ooreenkoms moet in die Winkelhandel nagekom word—

(a) deur alle werkgewers wat lede van die werkgewersorganisasie is en deur alle werknemers wat lede van die vakvereniging is;

(b) in die landdrosdistrikte Benoni, Boksburg, Brakpan, Germiston, Hoëveldrif, Johannesburg, Kempton Park, Klerksdorp, Krugersdorp, Nigel, Oberholzer, Potchefstroom, Randfontein, Roodepoort, Springs, Vereeniging en Westonaria.

(2) Ondanks subklousule (1) is hierdie Ooreenkoms van toepassing slegs ten opsigte van werknemers vir wie lone by klousule 4 voorgeskryf word.

Institute striving for open society

BY EDWIN NAIDU

Buoyed by a fistful of dollars from American development agency USaid, the South African Institute of Race Relations plans to expand its work in pursuit of an open society in which freedom and human rights are the priorities.

While President Nelson Mandela presided over the opening of Parliament on Friday, institute chief executive John Kane-Berman said the institute's new policy was being launched at a time when the euphoria of two-and-a-half years seemed to have evaporated, not least because the Government had failed in its key responsibility to make people feel safe in their homes and on the streets.

Speaking at a business breakfast in Rosebank, Johannesburg, Kane-Berman said that just as the National Party had to abandon policies on which its representatives were elected, the ANC was in some respects in the same position, but the difference was that, on performance so far, the ANC "adapts more quickly".

He said proof of the ANC's willingness to shift positions could be seen by its adoption of the Growth, Employment and Redistribution Plan, while, at provincial level, some politicians had made U-turns on ambitious plans for mass housing, realising they were, sadly, pipe-dreams.

Kane-Berman said it was ironic that in the area in which transformation was most needed – labour policy – the Government was stuck in the past.

Kane-Berman said that, unskilled and uneducated as they mostly were, the unemployed needed to be priced into the labour market, not out of it, and that the institute would seek to have offending provisions removed from the new Labour Relations Act if they were obstacles to job creation.

He warned of a bleak future, particularly if the Government went ahead with plans to release up to 25 000 prisoners, and said the move, if implemented, suggested the Government did not take the public's fear of violent crime seriously enough.

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